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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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1 DECEMBER 1986

USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MOLDAVIAN CC PLENUM CRITICIZES 1ST SECRETARY GROSSU

Information Announcement

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 23 Oct 86 p 1

[Information Announcement on the MCP Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] A plenum of the MCP Central Committee was held in Kishinev on 22 October. Invitees were the party raykom first secretaries, managers of the republic ministries and departments and the mass information media, and the chairmen of ispolkoms of city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies who are not members of the Central Committee.

A report "The Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization Which Evolve from the CPSU Central Committee Decree Entitled 'The Unsatisfactory Fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee Decisions Concerning the Eradication of the Fraud and Figure-Padding of the MCP Central Committee, by the UkCP Kirovograd Obkom and by USSR Minavtoprom [Ministry of the Automotive Industry]'" was given by MCP Central Committee First Secretary S. K. Grossu. (The report will be published in the press.)

Persons participating in the discussion after the report were MCP Kishinev Gorkom First Secretary N. A. Tsyu; MSSR Council of Ministers Chairman I. P. Kalin; MCP Slobodzeyskiy Raykom First Secretary I. N. Russu; MSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman A. A. Moku; MCP Chimishliyskiy Raykom First Secretary G. N. Shimanskiy; leader of the combine brigade of grinding machine operators at the Elektromash Plant in Tiraspol, I. A. Pavlov; MCP Dondyushanskiy Rayon First Secretary A. N. Sangeli; specialist at the Put Lenina interfarm enterprise for beef production and heifer raising, Kamenskiy Rayon, V. V. Kacherovskaya; MCP Novoanenskiy Raykom First Secretary V. V. Runkovskiy; Moldavian Republic Trade-Unions Council Chairman G. I. Yeremey; MCP Tarakliyskiy Raykom First Secretary V. I. Glebov; MSSR People's Control Committee Chairman P. V. Voronin; leader of a vegetable-husbandry brigade at the Put Iliche Sovkhoz, Ryshkanskiy Rayon, V. N. Bumbak; Moldavpotreboysuz board of governors chairman V. M. Iovv; MSSR Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman, MSSR Gosagroprom Chairman Ye. P. Kalenik; MSSR Minister of Internal Affairs G. I. Lavranchuk; MCP Teleneshtskiy Raykom First Secretary A. I. Aleksey; General Director of the Volna Production Association imeni K. U. Chernenko in Kishinev, M. M. Garshtya; MSSR Minister of Construction N. I.

Uzun; MSSR Procurator I. I. Cheban; and MCP Glodyanskiy Raykom First Secretary I. K. Serbin. (Statements will be published in the press.)

The plenum of the MCP Central Committee unanimously adopted a decree concerning the question that was discussed.

Organizational questions were discussed at the plenum.

The plenum relieved P. P. Petrik of his duties as secretary and member of the MCP Central Committee Buro as a result of his reassignment.

The plenum elected as secretary and member of the MCP Central Committee Buro N. F. Bondarchuk, who had previously worked as MCP Bendery Gorkom First Secretary, and recently as an instructor at the CPSU Central Committee Department of Party-Organizational Work.

The plenum relieved K. A. Melnik of his duties as MCP Central Committee department chief.

The plenum confirmed A. I. Tsurkanu as chief of the MCP Central Committee Department of Agriculture and the Food Industry, and P. G. Dubalar as chief of the MCP Central Committee Department of Trade and Personal Services.

The plenum removed A. F. Zazimko and A. S. Miron from the list of candidate members of the MCP Central Committee as a result of their having failed to guarantee the fulfillment of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the taking of decisive steps to stop instances of figure-padding, fraud, and other abuses, and their uncontrollability and personal irresponsibility.

The closing speech at the plenum was made by MCP Central Committee Chairman S. K. Grossu.

CPSU Central Committee responsible worker G. A. Shipilov took part in the work of the plenum.

Decree Text

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 23 Oct pp 3, 4

[22 October 1986 Decree of the 4th Plenum of the MCP Central Committee: "The Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization Which Evolve from the CPSU Central Committee Decree Entitled 'The Unsatisfactory Fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee Decisions Concerning the Fraud and Figure-Padding of the MCP Central Committee, by the UkCP Kirovograd Obkom, and by USSR Minavtoprom'"]

[Text] The Central Committee plenum deems to be completely correct and justified the well-principled and strict evaluation of the republic's party organization by the CPSU Central Committee, which recognized as being unsatisfactory the work performed by the MCP Central Committee in fulfilling the party's decisions concerning the fight against instances of figure-padding, fraud, and deception against the state, and which punished Central Committee First Secretary S. K. Grossu.

The CPSU Central Committee decree thoroughly reveals the reasons for the massive, all-encompassing nature and viability of figure-padding, fraud, and actions taken only for show, all of which have penetrated into all spheres of life in the republic -- the economy, the social infrastructure, and educational work -- and defines the paths for eradicating this shameful phenomenon.

For the republic's party organization, this is an exceptionally important document. It defines the paths and methods of its activity under the conditions of fundamental reorganization, the struggle to confirm high moral principles everywhere and in all things, and the decisive elimination of various kinds of undesirable phenomena. The implementation of the tasks evolving from the requires of the CPSU Central Committee decree will promote the reinforcement of the authority and combativeness of the republic's party organization in resolving the large-scale and complicated tasks of the republic's socioeconomic development and the communist education of the workers. The republic's Communists have been taught yet another lesson of truth and have been shown the persistent need to guarantee the high level of party and state discipline and the objectivity of any information, and the great political and practical importance of the fight against ostentation, commotion, and the prettifying of reality has been revealed.

Completely aware of its role and responsibility as the guiding agency of the republic's party organization, the MCP Central Committee considers it to be an urgent task to give a well-principled evaluation to the widespread instances of figure-padding, fraud, and deception of the state, and to work out collectively a constructive program of actions to eradicate that socially dangerous evil.

As was noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree, the republic's party and Soviet agencies did not make the proper conclusions from the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress concerning the inadmissibility of distorting the actual state of affairs, and also from the previously adopted decree of the KPK [People's Control Committee] under CPSU Central Committee, entitled "Figure-Padding in State Reports Concerning the Fulfillment of the Meat Purchase Plan in Moldavian SSR," and the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "The Work of the MCP Central Committee to Improve the Work Style and Methods of the Party Organizations in the Light of the Decisions of the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee." They failed to achieve a major turning point in the work to assure the decisive discontinuance of figure-padding and other forms of fraud against the state. The party requirements with regard to these questions failed to occupy the proper place in their work and are still being shoved into the background. The atmosphere of indifference and complacency that had developed over the years among the cadres at the administrative level, the uncritical attitude toward the results of their own activity, the halfway measures, and the profound gap between word and deed were the reason for the wide spread of undesirable situations in most branches of the national economy and in the spiritual life of the republic's cities and rayons.

The Buro and Secretariat of the MCP Central Committee were unable to display collective party bravery in evaluating the major instances of figure-padding that were revealed in agriculture at one time by the CPSU Central Committee.

Those instances of figure-padding had occurred in almost all rayons in the republic, but they did not receive the proper healthy response on the part of the public. The organizers of the figure-padding, who forced the managers of cities and rayons, enterprises and kolkhozes to deceive the government, not only did not receive the punishment they deserved, but also were left in their jobs, and several of them were promoted.

That led to a situation in which the guilty individuals came to be convinced of their impunity, and the honest workers lost faith in justice. A considerable number of the cadres and the aktiv were corrupted, were put in a dependent, false position, and were not able to lead their collectives correctly, in accordance with party principles. A fertile soil arose for new instances of figure-padding and abuses, and the degeneration not only of the economic workers, but also the party workers. As a result, it was necessary to replace the cadres completely in a number of raykoms, and Soviet and economic agencies at the rayon and republic level, as was done in Glodyanskiy, Novoanenskiy, and Nisporenskiy rayons, Moldavpotrebsoyuz, Goskomizdat, Goskino, etc.

The tardy strict measures did not lead to any noticeable changes. The evil of figure-padding continued to affect many enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, construction and transport organizations, and the services sphere. In the first half of the current year, instances of figure-padding were revealed in every fifth industrial enterprise and personal-services enterprise that was checked. The republic's construction workers turned over every other project with areas of unfinished work or with defects. For agriculture it became a common phenomenon to conceal the number of head of livestock and of sown areas, and to overstate the volumes of production and purchases of output of animal and vegetable husbandry. The cadres in the outlying areas were infected on a mass scale with irresponsibility, the striving to prettify in every possible manner the true state of affairs, and to use dishonest methods to receive public recognition and to win prizes in the socialist competition.

These phenomena were established especially firmly in the activity of the Kishinev Gorkom (former First Secretary V. K. Kiktenko), where the incoming reports concerning instances of figure-padding and fraud were not made known to the buro members or the party committee workers, the role of the state statistical agencies was ignored, and political shortsightedness manifested itself. The same situation developed at the Glodyanskiy Raykom (former First Secretary D. S. Chebotar), Kaushanskiy Raykom (former First Secretary V. S. Nezhivoy), Slobodzeyskiy Raykom (I. N. Russu), Teleneshtskiye Raykom (A. I. Aleksey), and other party raykoms. That led to a situation in which, in Kishinev and the rayons mentioned, instances of figure-padding have been revealed in every other enterprise checked.

The mass instances of figure-padding, fraud, and deception against the government, in addition to causing economic damage, inflicted large political and moral damage. They have become the nutritive medium for numerous thefts, squandering, and illegal disposal of the nation's wealth, the commission of economic and official crimes, and the crude trampling of Soviet laws, and they become one of the channels for receiving unearned income. In 1985,

inspections and checks by financial-inspection agencies revealed instances of figure-padding totaling 6.6 million rubles, and those involving wages, of 207,000 rubles.

Despite the antigovernmental practice, which has become widespread on a massive scale, the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat and many of the party's gorkoms and raykoms have not been giving the appropriate political evaluation to this dangerous evil, have not been serving as an example of the purposeful, consistent fight against it, and have not succeeded in creating a single front of party, governmental, economic, and law-enforcement agencies and public organizations in the fight against figure-padding and fraud. Unsatisfactorily organized party control neutralizes the effect of the extremely necessary decisions being made by the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat and by the party's gorkoms and raykoms. Their issuance of numerous pieces of paper and their making of numerous declarations, without reinforcing the necessary organizing work, created the impression that all was well, and served as the basis for complacency and the lack of a well-honed, exacting position at the party committees. Deviation from Lenin's behest to carry out the strictest control in every matter, always, and everywhere gave rise to the shameful practice whereby the chief efforts were expended in the preparation of documents, but their execution was viewed as something evolving naturally from the paper rivers. The incompletely eradicated practice of doing things for effect and the striving to indulge in wishful thinking are still preventing the unity of word and deed from becoming everyone's working standard. The failure to back up the reorganization appeals with any struggle to achieve that reorganization, and the various kinds of abuses and violations of socialist legality, like the instances of figure-padding and fraud, are links in the same chain and contradict the essence of our way of life.

The republic has not held specific individuals everywhere strictly responsibility for any instances of figure-padding. The party documents that have been adopted are, in many instances, impersonal in nature and fail to contain any well-principled evaluations specifically directed at dishonest workers, those who have deceiving the government, and those who indulge them. Many of the true culprits, including administrators at the republic level, have avoided the punishment that they deserve.

During the past two and a half years, out of 215 Communist managers punished by the party's gorkoms and raykoms for fraud and deception against the government, most remained in their previous jobs or were transferred to another managerial job, including 12 persons who got a raise in salary.

Thus we have not seen the practical implementation of the CPSU Central Committee's guiding principle to the effect that the managerial workers and officials who deceive the government, and those who take a conciliatory attitude to persons who are guilty of figure-padding, whatever their previous merits may have been, have neither the political nor the moral right to occupy managerial positions or to remain in the party. This unprincipled position taken by party agencies does not promote the creation in the republic of an atmosphere of a strict, uncompromising fight against fraud.

In this fight the party's gorkoms and raykoms have not yet been carrying out a firm line aimed at the complete eradication of deception at the confirmation of the victory of truth, and have not been taking effective steps to educate all the cadres in the spirit of actively opposing any manifestations of dishonesty and insincerity. This work has been poorly run by the Bendery Gorkom (First Secretary V. N. Voronin), Chimishliyskiy Raykom (G. N. Shimanskiy), Kamenskiy Raykom (A. V. Delev), Kalarashskiy Raykom (F. G. Olaru), Leovski Raykom (M. A. Budishtyan), Lazovski Raykom (A. G. Zhdanov), Orgeyevskiy Raykom (A. S. Ginkul), Bessarabskiy Raykom (A. D. Gandrabura), Tarakliyskiy Raykom (V. I. Glebov), Strashenskiy Rayom (F. G. Anton), and a number of other party raykoms. They lack any plans for precise actions to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee's decisions concerning the eradication of instances of figure-padding and fraud, and frequently take a conciliatory attitude toward persons who are guilty of defrauding the government. Persons who engage in figure-padding or in fraud are not viewed as elements that are alien to socialism, and are not put in the same category as criminals, thieves, or bribe-takers.

The corruption of cadres is also encouraged by the bureaucratic approach to the organizing of socialist competition and to the summing up of its results, by the undeserved awarding of prize-winning places to individual collectives, and by the paying of the corresponding bonuses. The party and Soviet administrators alone in cities and rayons where there have been instances of figure-padding in recent years have undeservedly received bonuses totaling a considerable amount of money. This is nothing else but unprincipledness and the encouragement of fraud, which are dangerous not only because of the economic losses, but also because of the political damage and the corrupting influence upon the cadres, resulting in their loss to society.

The lack of resistance to evil on the part of the Central Committee and the party's gorkoms and raykoms gives rise to passivity in the primary party organizations, which do not display any striving to work out their own effective set of tools for combatting undesirable situations and instances of incorrect and nonparty behavior on the part of individual Communists, especially administrators. Firm adherence to principles, party boldness, and independence have become rare in their everyday work. By no means all of them are taking steps to purify the party of the persons who have inveigled their way into it. In many organizations an exacting analysis of the administrators' activity has been replaced by the formal presentation of one's own report at party meetings. These meetings are not distinguished by any acute criticism or truly Bolshevik self-criticism, or the development of effective measures to reorganize the work style and to guarantee that the collective administrators serve as examples in all regards.

The lack of any well-honed, precise position in the activity of the primary party organizations at the Kishinev computer technology repair plant and reinforced-concrete articles plant No. 1, and the Grazhdanstroy Trust of MSSR Minstroy [Ministry of Construction]; the Kishinevtrans Production Association; the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, Kantemirskiy Rayon; and the Albota Sovkhoz, Tarakliyskiy Rayon led to a situation in which, in those collectives, the undesirable situations took on a prolonged, stable nature.

In cadre policy there have been serious violations of the party's guiding principles, which are aimed at combining trust and exactingness, the development of criticism and self-criticism, and the supporting of workers who have been well-tested on the job and who are capable of defending that which is new and advanced, and of fighting against routine and a paper-pushing approach. The party organizations have been doing little to study the on-the-job qualities of the future administrators or their ability to reorganize their way of thinking rapidly, to assume responsibility, and to bring to completion the job that has been begun, been begun to its completion. The party organizations have not been getting rid of uninitiated, undisciplined workers who are inclined to engage in empty twaddle, who have compromised themselves in a responsible job, and who have failed to make the proper conclusions. The conditions that have been created made it possible to promote to the management of republic and other agencies persons who know how to "work things out," how to smooth over the rough spots, people who are devoid of the party and moral core without which it is impossible to develop administrators with firm political and civic convictions. The qualities of resisting subjectivism were evaluated more highly than a well-principled party position.

In this regard it is not accidental that the persons who inveigled themselves into the managerial agencies included such degenerates as Vyshku, Dobynda, Chebotar, Iordanov, Postolaki, G. Kozub, and others who had been pursuing career and completely selfish goals, and who use in the management methods such techniques as crudeness, flattery, and bootlicking, the suppression of criticism, and the making of unobjective evaluations of their subordinates. What also became possible in the final analysis were the organizing of criminal groups, numerous instances of malfeasance, and bribery, as a result of which more than 300 administrators at various levels have been sentenced in recent years.

One sees the effect of many years of the formalism that flourished with respect to the cadre reserve, to the educating of people who are devoted to the party and who know how to implement its policy. The party committees and bureaus frequently do not go so far as establishing the specific sources and culprits in instances of figure-padding and fraud, make no attempt to create in the labor collectives a situation of social disdain toward violators of state discipline, and do not make complete use of the commissions for controlling the actions taken by the management or the people's controllers in the fight against violations of accounting and report discipline, and take a formal approach to considering the performance appraisals of Communists and instances of fraud against the government. Certain party organization secretaries act in the role of the defenders of administrators who have compromised themselves, thus causing Communists to express just indignation and distrust of those secretaries. In Dubossarskiy Rayon, out of 20 economic administrators brought to administrative responsibility for instances of figure-padding and fraud, only four were censured in party organizations; in Teleneshtski Rayon, out of 23, only nine received party punishments; in Kriulyanskiy Rayon, out of six, three; and in Kaushanskiy Rayon, out of six, not a single one received any party punishment.

An insufficient role in organizing the execution of legality has been played by the Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet. A considerable number of the questions raised at Supreme Soviet sessions and conferences do not find any resolution in the appropriate agencies. The formal replies to which they limit themselves when answering the deputies are not given the proper evaluation, and this seriously reduces the authority of the republic's agency of supreme power.

One's attention is also attracted by the low level of civic maturity on the part of a number of deputies. Many of these deputies themselves, although they are administrators of republic ministries and departments and of other agencies, commit crude violations of state discipline and legality and display unjustified passivity in the fulfillment of their deputy duties. Over the period of the past two years, the deputy powers of 23 deputies to the MSSR Supreme Soviet were prematurely terminated. Four deputies were recalled.

MSSR Council of Ministers has been reorganizing its work slowly. In recent years there has been a lack of the necessary purposeful and consistency in the management of the republic's national economy. The decisions being made have very infrequently contained any real basis for fulfillment, have frequently had a predominance of subjectivism, and have lacked any scientific approach, especially in forming an investment policy and in developing the productive forces.

The Council of Ministers has failed to guarantee the strictest implementation by the republic's ministries, state committees, and departments and by the ispolkoms of the local Soviets, of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee for establishing the proper state order in accounting and reporting, or for taking decisive steps to eradicate instances of mismanagement and waste, and of figure-padding and fraud.

At MSSR Agroprom (Ye. P. Kalenik), Minstroy [Ministry of Construction] (N. I. Uzun), Minmeliovodkhoz [Ministry of Reclamation and Water Management] (A. S. Kishlar), Minmestprom [Ministry of Local Industry] (N. D. Kudryavtseva), Minavtotrans [Ministry of Motor Transport] (V. M. Fomin), and Minbyt [Ministry of Consumer Services] (V. M. Yukin), the materials provided by the inspection-and-control services frequently do not receive the proper evaluation on the part of the first administrators and are not sent to investigation agencies for the purpose of bringing to responsibility the persons guilty of figure-padding and mismanagement and for the purpose of obtaining full restitution of the losses incurred by the government. This attitude to these questions is communicated to their deputies, to the members of the boards, and to other administrative workers in the branches, including the enterprise and organization directors. All this demoralizes the cadres, causes tremendous harm to their education, and in the final analysis hinders the implementation of the party's line that is aimed at the acceleration of socioeconomic development. Under these conditions the branch staff boards, the party organizations, and the ispolkoms of the local Soviets do not provide any acute, well-principled evaluation of the shameful situations that have been mentioned. The decisions made by them, as a rule, only affirm what has been revealed by inspections from above. No strict responsibility is borne by the workers who themselves have been engaged in, or have knowingly allowed others

to engage in, figure-padding and misrepresentations of the actual state of affairs. In 1985, out of the total number of persons who were found guilty of figure-padding, only 64 percent were brought to disciplinary responsibility. The situation has not improved during the current year. In the MSSR Ministry system alone, for example, 80 percent of the workers who were found guilty of figure-padding were not required to reimburse the government for the material losses that it had incurred. The majority of the administrative workers who have engaged in figure-padding were not deprived of their bonuses. The same situation prevails in Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] (G. M. Zhitnyuk), Minavtodor [Ministry of Highway Construction and Management] (I. S. Bolbat), the Administration of the Moldavian Railroad (Yu. M. Gerasimov), and others where there has been no fulfillment of the requirements made by the party and the government for carrying out departmental control in improving the administration, style, and methods of activity of the apparatus in those organizations, and in guaranteeing high organizational spirit and executive discipline. In many instances the departmental inspections being carried out are relatively ineffective, do not reveal any crude violations of state and financial discipline, instances of fraud or the misrepresentation of report data, or the misappropriation or theft of monetary funds, and exert little effect upon the production results of the inspected enterprises, organizations, and institutions. The procedure for conducting inspection work is disturbed and the plans for that work are not fulfilled.

The inspection-and-control services of most of the republic's ministries and departments are ineffectual and only formally verify the situation with regard to accounting and reporting, and the credit and settlement operations, and the promptness of fulfilling the obligations to the budget. There have been rather frequent instances when their coworkers have joined up with criminal elements. At Minsvyaz [Ministry of Communication] (V. P. Russu), Minpros [Ministry of Education] (D. G. Zidu), Minzdrav [Ministry of Health] (K. A. Draganyuk), Mintorg [Ministry of Trade] (V. G. Bobutak), Moldavpotreboysuz (K. A. Melnik), and MSSR Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography], and others, no provision has been made for considering and implementing by a specific deadline the materials provided by inspections and comprehensive checks. The review-and-control services there have not been completely manned, and there have been instances of the reduction of the administrative staffs by reducing those services. The proficiency level of the inspection and accounting workers is low. Little work is being done to retrain those cadres or to give them refresher training.

The Central Committee bureau and departments and the party committees have been working unsatisfactorily with the party organizations in the state and economic control services. At many enterprises, organizations, and farms, the primary accounting has been neglected and unified, standard forms for introducing the necessary order into this matter are being introduced slowly. And yet it is precisely when accounting has been neglected that figure-padding, thefts, and bribes begin.

Serious failures in carrying out their control functions are still being made by Gosplan (V. G. Kutyrkin), MSSR Ministry of Finance (I. A. Savvin), and the republic offices of USSR Gosbank and USSR Stroybank (V. I. Rogovskiy, P. F. Vizir). Minfin [Ministry of Finance] makes little use of the right granted to

it to listen to oral reports, at board sessions, from the administrators of ministries, departments, and other administrative agencies with regard to questions pertaining to the state of inspection-and-control work and the issuing to them of mandatory instructions to eliminate the shortcomings in that matter which have been revealed.

MSSR TsSU [Central Statistics Administration] (K. I. Kozub) has obviously not been coping with its tasks as a controlling agency. The checks that it carries out are frequently superficial, do not encompass the entire set of questions linked with the reliability of state reports, and are carried out chiefly within the confines of only a single rayon. For a prolonged period of time the Gosstatistika [State Statistics] agencies did not carry out any comprehensive checks of a broad group of enterprises and organizations with respect to the most important indicators characterizing the effectiveness of production. The quality of the checks continues to be low, and the job of controlling the elimination of the revealed shortcomings and of bringing the guilty individuals to responsibility is organized to an inadmissibly poor extent.

As a consequence of the underestimation by Gosplan and the republic's ministries, state committees, and departments of the opportunities for such economic methods of administration as planning and cost accountability, one continues to observe the shameful practice of adjusting the plans downward, which practice is one of the varieties of prettifying reality and of concealing shortcomings and omissions in work. Work is being done poorly to convert the brigades to true cost accountability at the republic's enterprises and organizations. Many of them exist only on paper. This kind of fraud was revealed at the Kishinev meat-processing plant, leather haberdashery factory, Moldavidromash Production Association, and Khimchistka Association, the Dubossary Garment Factory, the Sovkhoz imeni Dzerzhinskiy, Grigoriopolskiy Rayon, and others. Major miscalculations in resource distribution are typical of Gossnab (B. N. Savochko) and its subdivisions.

Serious shortcomings exist in the work of the MSSR procurator's office (I. I. Cheban), MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] (G. I. Lavranchuk), Minyust [Ministry of Justice] (V. M. Volosyuk), and Supreme Court (V. S. Pushkash), which operate in complete isolation from the economic and controlling services and which have been doing little to combat instances of figure-padding and fraud or to prevent those dangerous crimes. Insufficient use is being made of the measures stipulated by law for bringing to criminal responsibility the persons guilty of figure-padding in state reports and of submitting other deliberately misrepresented data. The investigative agencies and the courts demonstrate impotency when the topic of discussion comes around to the reimbursement of the losses that have resulted from the figure-padding. Thus, in the cases that were considered by MSSR Supreme Court, only one-fifth of these losses were reimbursed. As a rule, the procurators in most of the rayons have not protested the illegal orders or decisions to pay bonuses or the acceptance documents for the activation of projects that have not been completely constructed, or the production of obsolete technology or poor-quality output. A large amount of psychological harm is caused by crude errors and incompetency, by red-tape and bureaucratic methods on the part of certain representatives of the law-enforcement and economic agencies. The

underestimation of the exceptional importance of the urgent struggle against figure-padding and fraud, and in individual instances also the tolerance toward criminals on the part of certain law-enforcement agencies, are largely explained by the low level of work performed by their party organizations.

There must be considerably stricter control over the fulfillment of the party and government decisions concerning the stopping of figure-padding and other misrepresentations in state reports on the part of the republic people's control committee (P. V. Voronin) and the city and rayon people's control committees. In most instances they have reduced their work to the making of decisions, in response to warning messages and letters sent in by the workers, concerning situations that have already occurred. There is a lack of preventive work which is supposed to be combined closely with the education of people. The party organizations in the outlying areas have not been taking proper steps to increase the authority and role of the people's control groups and posts.

Moldsovprom (G. I. Yereyev), the MSSR Komsomol Central Committee (I. I. Buzhenitsa), and many trade-union, Komsomol, and other public organizations have been engaging to an extremely insufficient extent in the fight against actions done only for effect and against fraud.

The mass information and propaganda media have been conducting unsatisfactorily the work of developing in every labor collective an atmosphere of intolerance and universal censure toward those who are taking the path of deceiving the government and their coworkers, and the party's gorkoms and raykoms are little concerned about publicity, do not direct their printed publications toward the uncompromising fight against undesirable situations, sometimes try to conceal them in the attempt "not to wash their dirty linen in public," and fail to inform the workers about the work that is being done.

The plenum feels that the deceit, fraud, and figure-padding have currently become a serious deterrent in carrying out the party's course aimed at the complete reorganization of our society's economic, social, and spiritual life.

The plenum of the MCP Central Committee decrees:

1. To accept for steady guidance and execution the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "The Unsatisfactory Fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee Decisions Concerning the Eradication of the Fraud and Instances of Figure-Padding of the MCP Central Committee by the UkCP Kirovograd Obkom and the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry."

Noting the need to put to an end the shameful practice that has developed in the republic's party organization, whereby the fulfillment of the decisions made by the central agencies is arbitrarily postponed to later dates in the outlying areas, the administrators who take this dangerous path are to be warned that they will bear personal party responsibility.

It is deemed necessary, proceeding from the guiding principles of the 27th CPSU Congress, to discuss the state of the work of implementing the CPSU

Central Committee decisions concerning the decisive eradication of figure-padding and fraud at plenums of the party's city and rayon committees, meetings of the primary party organizations, board meetings of the republic's ministries, state committees, and departments, and sessions of the city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies. On the basis of a critical analysis of the state of affairs, a concrete program of actions is to be developed for every party committee, organization, branch, and labor collective, the firm implementation of the guiding principles of the CPSU Central Committee in carrying out a decisive fight against fraud and figure-padding is to be guaranteed, and within the near future a fundamental turning point and the complete eradication of this shameful phenomenon will be achieved.

2. The Central Committee Buro, the party's raykoms, the primary party organizations, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, MSSR Council of Ministers, the city and rayon ispolkoms, and the republic's ministries, state committees, and departments are to take steps to assure the complete development of people's creative activity, to create the conditions for free criticism of shortcomings, to assure that the specific individuals guilty of performing poor work are not spared that criticism, to take decisive steps to support that which is new and advanced, and to guarantee the reorganization at every work state, in all links, and at all levels. With regard to every instance of figure-padding, exhaustive steps are to be taken to bring the guilty individuals to responsibility and to guarantee reimbursement of the damage that has been incurred.

The effectiveness of all the work of converting the economy to intensive methods, of increasing the growth rates of the national economy, improving the qualitative indicators, and increasing the effectiveness of social production is to be increased. More complete use is to be made of the scientific-production potential, the raw-material and labor resources, and all the internal reserves and opportunities for the republic's successful fulfillment of the national-economic plans and socialist pledges for 1986 and the 12th Five-Year Plan.

Increasingly aggressive and merciless methods are to be used in eradicating instances of figure-padding and other misrepresentations in reports. Defrauding the government is to be viewed not only as an official crime, but also as a grievous misdemeanor against the party. Taking their special danger into consideration, the continued presence in the CPSU ranks of persons who have perpetrated fraud and deception is to be deemed inadmissible.

3. The Central Committee Buro and the party's gorkoms and raykoms are to shift the center of gravity in the organizing and political work to the primary party organizations and the labor collectives. They are to be given a greater role and greater responsibility for guaranteeing the constant monitoring of the rate of fulfillment of state plans and pledges, for the reliability of the report data, and for the education of the cadres. This work is to be constructed in such a way that every urban and rural worker recognizes as his primary civic duty the need personally to wage an uncompromising fight against undesirable situations, and every Communist, every worker, is imbued with a spirit of those changes the beginning of which was laid by the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. There is to be a "moral revolution" in

people's awareness, and painstaking work is to be carried out to develop in everyone the conviction that the existing difficulties are surmountable, and the shortcomings can be eliminated.

By the entire style of their organizing, political, and ideological activity, they are to serve as an example of reorganization, to develop an atmosphere of the highest discipline and organizational spirit in the labor collectives, and to encourage everything is aimed at the correction of the shortcomings. There is to be public and open revelation of the causes of the undesirable situations and all forms of democracy are to be developed. The discussion of every instance of figure-padding is to become a standard practice at party meetings and at general meetings of workers and kolkhoz members, and the labor collectives are to be informed concerning the measures that have been taken to eliminate those instances.

Remembering that the success of any job depends on people, constant guidance is to be provided by the Leninist principles governing the selection, placement, and ideological tempering of the cadres and by the principle stated in the CPSU Rules concerning the active participation of the primary party organizations in carrying out cadre policy. Cadres are to be educated constantly in the spirit of honesty and truthfulness, adherence to party principles, and high responsibility to the party and the nation, and an atmosphere of intolerance is to be created with respect to those who gloss over or conceal shortcomings or replace organizing work with actions done simply for show purposes, ostentation, and hullabaloo.

A conciliatory attitude toward persons who have committed figure-padding is to be censured, and the shameful practice whereby a person who has defrauded the government is transferred from one managerial position to another is to be discontinued. Oral reports are to be given regularly by administrators at all levels at worker meetings and at sessions of agencies operating collectively. Their activity and their strong and weak points are to be evaluated objectively, they are to be helped in getting rid of their shortcomings, and, if they are being promoted, the opinion of the primary party organizations and the collectives must necessarily be taken into consideration.

The first secretaries of the party's raykoms and gorkoms and the administrators of ministries, departments, and trade-union and Komsomol agencies must personally head the fight against the undesirable situations and for a healthy moral and psychological atmosphere, and must increase the effectiveness of the steps being taken to prevent thefts, figure-padding, and fraud.

Improvement of control and checking of execution is to be guaranteed, with the attempt being made to assure that they are a truly effective instrument for resolving the tasks posed by the 27th CPSU Congress. The persons engaged in this work are to be guided by V. I. Lenin's instruction to the effect that "...checking of what is actually happening is the basic and chief... task."

The secretaries and department chiefs of the MCP Central Committee are to be made personally responsible for guaranteeing stricter monitoring of the reliability of the incoming information and to carry out periodic checks of

the actual situation in the outlying areas. At least once a quarter there is to be a careful analysis of the state of affairs in the main branches and work sectors.

4. The party's gorkoms and raykoms, in guiding the primary party organizations, are to consider how critically they view the results of their economic activity, whether they are evaluating correctly their achievements and shortcomings, and whether they are taking well-principled steps to oppose the prettifying of reality and instances of figure-padding and fraud.

The necessary steps are to be taken to intensify their monitoring of the state of primary accounting and reporting on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, at enterprises, construction sites, and in procurement, trade, and other organizations, the observance of state discipline, and the increase in the responsibility borne by enterprise and organization administrators for the prompt submittal and reliability of the data in the state reports.

It is to be recommended to the primary party organizations that they raise the work level of the commissions responsible for controlling the management's actions, and to improve its coordination with legal and economic, inspection-and-control, and other control services of enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes in the fight against figure-padding and fraud.

5. The Presidium of MSSR Supreme Soviet is to take steps to improve and intensify the monitoring of the execution of the existing legislation. More complete use is to be made of the constitutional statute governing regular reports to be submitted to Soviets by the executive and managerial agencies and other agencies created by the Soviets.

In carrying out the guidance of the city, rayon, and rural Soviets of People's Deputies, they are to analyze their actively more exactly and profoundly, especially in guaranteeing legality and waging the fight against violations of state and labor discipline. The legal training of the workers in the Soviet and economic agencies is to be improved, and steps are to be taken to reinforce the legal service and increase its role in the work of the Soviets and their subordinate agencies.

The interaction among the permanent commissions, the people's control agencies, the trade-union, Komsomol, and other social organizations, and the republic's appropriate law-enforcement agencies is to be reinforced.

6. MSSR Council of Ministers is to channel its efforts into the further improvement of the administration of the economy, the improvement of the management style and methods, the establishment of the proper state procedure in accounting and reporting, and the eradication of instances of mismanagement and waste, and of deception against the government.

Additional measures are to be developed to intensify the economic and legal levers in the fight against figure-padding and fraud. At such time, provision is to be made for the mandatory reimbursement to the state of illegally paid wages and bonuses, as well as the value of the fuel, energy, and raw and other materials that were unjustifiably written off for unmanufactured output.

The coordination of the work performed by the financial-bank and statistical agencies is to be improved and the effectiveness of that work is to be increased, the elimination of parallelism and duplication in the conducting of checks is to be achieved, and the necessary steps to eradicate the revealed shortcomings are to be carried out expeditiously.

7. Gosplan, Gosagroprom, and MSSR ministries, state committees, and departments are to accelerate the work of improving the administration of the national economy. Attention is to be concentrated on the key questions of the economy and culture, and on the profound analysis and development of scientifically substantiated decisions for the comprehensive development of the republic's national economy.

The mobilizing role of the plan as a factor for accelerating the economic development is to be increased, and the stability of the plan and the reliance upon firm economic standards are to be guaranteed. The work of evaluating the agroeconomical resource potentials of the rayons and farms for guaranteeing the reality and balanced state of the plans will be intensified in the republic.

Additional steps will be taken to introduce and to improve further in the republic intrafarm cost accountability, the brigade contract, and the principles of repayment of expenses and self-financing.

For purposes of eliminating the existing losses, violations, and abuses in the accounting and distribution of resources, Gosplan and its subdivisions are to take bolder steps to introduce progressive forms and methods of supply, and to change over to through-shipment deliveries from the manufacturer enterprise to the consumer enterprise, bypassing the bases and warehouses.

8. The MSSR ministries, state committees, and departments, with the personal responsibility of the first persons, are to develop and carry out specific steps to assure the fundamental improvement of the intradepartmental control, to establish order in accounting, to prevent the misrepresentation of report data in the subordinate enterprises and institutions, and to take decisive steps to stop the instances of figure-padding and fraud, and any other falsified data. The work of selecting and training cadres for the inspection-and-control services is to be improved, those services are to be reinforced with skilled specialists, and the regular raising of the proficiency level of those workers is to be guaranteed. The actions of the inspection-and-control apparatus are to be aimed at improving the quality and promptness of carrying out the inspections, and at intensifying the monitoring of the correctness of the state of accounting and reporting and the intactness of socialist property. Instances when individual organizations are not checked for years at a time are to be precluded. The administration of the inspection-and-control services and the personal responsibility for the state of accounting and reporting are to be placed on the first persons in the republic's ministries, state committees, and departments, as well as in the labor collectives. It is established that the administrators must report to their collectives concerning every instance of figure-padding or fraud.

9. Gosplan, Gosstnab, and the republic's ministries, state committees, and departments are to take steps to improve the providing of the enterprises and organizations with means for making measurements. The Moldavian Republic Administration of USSR Gosstandart [State Committee for Standards] is to intensify state supervision of the state and application of measurement technology in the republic's national economy, to make more complete use of the opportunities for employing economic sanctions against any detected instances of the use of unsuitable measurement technology or the failure to guarantee the unity and reliability of the measures, and to render a greater amount of methodological assistance to ministries and departments in organizing the activity of the subordinate metrological services.

10. MSSR Ministry of Finance and the Moldavian Republic Offices of USSR Gosbank and Stroybank are to intensify the monitoring of the correctness of the data on the basis of which the branches of the national economy are financed and credit is granted to enterprises and organizations, and are also to intensify their inspection-and-control work.

MSSR TsSU [Central Statistics Administration] is to take the necessary steps to eliminate the existing shortcomings and to achieve a considerable improvement of the work performed by the statistical agencies. Checks are to be made on a scale that encompasses a broad group of enterprises and organizations with respect to the most important indicators that characterize the effectiveness of production, such as the availability and use of the production potential in industry and agriculture, the assimilation of new types of industrial output, the number of personnel and the size of the wage fund, expenditures for the carrying out of scientific-technical operations, the average reduction of the expenditure norms for raw and other materials, etc.

Monitoring of the reliability of the report data received by the statistical agencies and the prevention of instances of figure-padding and other misrepresentations in reports will be intensified, as will the monitoring of the strict observance by enterprises and organizations of the established procedure for accounting for the fulfillment of plans in all branches of the national economy. Increased responsibility will be borne by the cadres at the local statistical agencies for the correctness of the state report data submitted by them. The effectiveness of the checks will be increased, and the persons who have been guilty of defrauding the government will be brought to stricter accountability.

11. The Soviets of People's Deputies, the trade-union and Komsomol organizations, and the people's control agencies are to take more active steps to involve the workers in the administration of state and public affairs, and the monitoring of the actions of state agencies and officials. In practical activity, more attention will be devoted to preventive work. Conditions that preclude the possibility of violating the established procedure of accounting and reporting, and of falsifying the results of labor, will be created at labor collectives. The efforts of the elected aktiv are to be channeled primarily into the study of the causes of fraud against the government and the elimination of those causes. Public opinion and the citizens' recommendations

that are contained in their letters and other communications are to be taken into consideration in that work.

The effectiveness of deputy groups, people's control groups and posts, the Komsomol Searchlight, and comrade courts will be increased. Comprehensive checks of the intactness of socialist property and the economical use of commodity-and-material assets will be constantly organized. Reviews and competitions will be devoted to these purposes.

In conformity with the USSR Law Governing Labor Collectives, there will be an intensification of the public monitoring by the trade-union organizations of the rate of fulfillment of plans and socialist pledges and it will become the practice to have regular reports from economic administrators with regard to those questions at meetings of workers and employees and at permanent production conferences.

Consideration as a possible recipient of challenge Red Banners or prize-winning positions on the basis of the socialist competition will not be given to any cities, rayons, enterprises, kolkhozes, or other organizations where, during the report period, there have been instances of figure-padding or the misrepresentation of data concerning the fulfillment of the plans or pledges. In the event that instances of figure-padding are revealed, the collectives that were acknowledged to be competition winners on the basis of falsified documents that were submitted are to be deprived of those awards, with the publication of that fact in the press. Complete restitution of the bonuses that were illegally received as a result of the fraud is to be guaranteed.

12. MSSR Procurator's Office is to react more acutely and in a more principled manner to instances of fraud against the government which have been discovered. Complete use is to be made in this regard of the opportunities for the procurator's inspectorate; its aggressiveness and effectiveness are to be increased; and more active steps are to be taken to assure its interaction with the controlling agencies. Jointly with MSSR MVD, the MSSR Procurator's Office is to bring all the guilty individuals promptly to the responsibility that is stipulated by law, to strive for the complete restitution of the losses incurred by the government, to take effective steps to eliminate the causes that contribute to the commission of those crimes, and to overcome decisively any local-interest or departmental influences. Every instance of an attempt by party or Soviet agencies to remove from responsibility any individuals guilty of figure-padding or fraud is to be reported to the MCP Central Committee.

MSSR Ministry of Justice and MSSR Supreme Court are to increase the courts' responsibility for protecting the interests of the state and for guaranteeing the prompt and efficient consideration of court cases involving instances of violation of state discipline, with a consideration of the educational effect of the court trials and the expansion of the public's participation and publicity in court activity.

MSSR Procurator's Office, MSSR Supreme Court, MSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and MSSR Ministry of Justice are to devote more attention to preventive work. Jointly with the controlling agencies, they are to analyze

annually the effectiveness of the results of the fight against figure-padding and fraud, to establish the causes that contribute to the viability of those undesirable situations, as well as their own shortcomings, and to coordinate the work of eliminating them. Administrators of the law-enforcement agencies are to be warned about their personal responsibility for eradicating instances of fraud against the government.

12. The mass information and propaganda media are to guarantee broad publicity for the fight against figure-padding. The role of the local press in this work is to be increased. There is to be more acute and more principled criticism of persons guilty of various kinds of fraud, as well as those who connive with them; an atmosphere of public disdain is to be created around them; deeper efforts are to be carried out to reveal the causes of figure-padding; and the effectiveness of every statement made is to be increased. The party committees are to achieve an objective and prompt consideration of the critical materials in the press.

The plenum of the MCP Central Committee assures the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo that the Communists and workers of MSSR will apply all their efforts, knowledge, and experience to carry out the party's strategic course that was planned by the 27th CPSU Congress, the course aimed at the acceleration of our country's socioeconomic development, and the directive guidance provided by the CPSU Central Committee for the complete eradication of undesirable manifestations that are profoundly alien to our society, as well as all violations of the law and deviations from the standards of communist morality.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MOLDAVIAN 2ND SECRETARY ON DISTORTED ECONOMIC REPORTING

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 28 Sep 86 p 2

[Report by V.I. Smirnov, 2nd Secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee: "Time for Strict Party Demandingness"]

[Text] Our party's tradition of always ensuring unity of theory and practice in all things and of uncompromisingly combatting ostentation, sensationalism and every sort of misrepresentation of reality, a tradition which goes back to Lenin, is especially important in the contemporary situation. The 27th CPSU Congress placed the lesson of truth first among all the lessons of the previous period. "Responsible analysis of the past," M.S. Gorbachev underscored in the party Central Committee's Political Report to the congress, "clears the path to the future, while half-truths which sheepishly avoid touchy issues retard the development of realistic policy and hamper our advance."

It is in fact impossible to work normally or to make correct and well considered decisions without precise and accurate information, without a thorough knowledge of the true situation. This is why the CPSU Central Committee attaches great political and practical importance to the correctness of information and the battle against padding [of figures] and sham, and constantly keeps this matter at the focus of its attention.

A number of highly important party documents deal with this problem. Strengthening report and accounting discipline in all elements of the national economic complex and holding the cadres highly accountable for the unity of words and deeds constitute an extremely important tool for exerting party influence with respect to accelerating social and economic development and truly restructuring in the spirit of the CPSU's contemporary aims.

Party, soviet, management, law-enforcement and other control agencies in our republic are working specifically to ensure that report figures are reliable and to prevent or eliminate deception of the state. During the past 5 years the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee has discussed 22 items dealing with the strengthening of legality in economic relations and with steps to intensify the battle against sham. The republic Council of Ministers has adopted 18 decisions on these matters.

The CPSU Central Committee's 1983 decree on the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee's accountability report was a move toward stepping up the battle

against these shameful things. Two years before that the CPSU Central Committee's Party Control Committee discussed the subject: "On the Padding of Figures in Reports to the State on the Fulfillment of the Meat Procurement Plan in the Moldavian SSR."

Carrying out the CPSU Central Committee's instructions in recent years, party committees and soviet agencies have increased the accountability of responsible officials for infractions, the padding [of figures] and distortions in reports occurring through their fault. While party gorkoms and raykoms brought 184 Communists to party accountability in 1984, for example, and only one out of every six was discussed in the primary party organization, party penalties were meted out to 315 CPSU members during the first 6 months of this year, and practically all of them were discussed in the primary party organizations. The republic Council of Ministers issued reprimands or stern reprimands to nine heads of ministries, departments, city or rayon ispolkoms, and sternly admonished 12. Since the beginning of 1986, 42 Communists guilty of padding figures have been expelled from the party. This is twice as many as in all of 1984. A total of 54 people have been removed from their positions--as many as in all of 1985.

It goes without saying that these are unpleasant statistics. We cannot ignore them, however, when we are faced with the urgent task of eradicating negative practices which have become established over a period of years. A thorough and fair evaluation of the past is the reliable foundation for successful movement forward.

D.S. Chebotar, former first secretary of the Glodyanskiy Rayon party committee, grossly violated the party's demand that order be established in all areas of life. Padding of figures, deception and abuses became widespread in the rayon during the 11th Five-Year Plan. The fulfillment of sales plans was exaggerated by 11,840 quintals of meat and more than 1 million eggs with his connivance during the period 1981-1984, for which many workers, including those in charge, were held criminally liable. For these and other gross violations of Leninist principles and standards of party leadership, the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee relieved him of his duties as 1st secretary and the primary party organization expelled him from the CPSU. The Ryshkanskiy Rayon party committee upheld the decision.

For padding figures and glossing over the situation, the Buro of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee expelled I.F. Lungu, director of the Novoanenskiy Sovkhoz-Tekhnikum for the Mechanization and Electrification of Animal Husbandry, from the party and relieved him of his position. It issued stern reprimands to Ye.Ye. Gilesku, chairman of the Skynteya Kolkhoz in Faleshtski Rayon, G.A. Tabaran, chairman of the Pogranichnik feed production enterprise in that rayon, and A.I. Postika, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Karl Marx in Chimishliyskiy Rayon, which were made a part of their records.

The primary party organization on the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Nisporenskiy Rayon uncovered a case of exaggerated plum production figures. Brigade leaders V.P. Moshna and F.K. Andriutsa, the guilty parties, were expelled from the party by the farm's party organization.

Control and law enforcement agencies have become more demanding in their assessment of illegal acts. Republic courts convicted 63 managers of padding figures

and defrauding the state in 1984 and 1985. They included M.I. Khuzun, chairman of Glodyanskiy Rayon's Kolkhozhivprom association; V.G. Kurulyuk, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Gagarin in that rayon; K.V. Kurnik, director of the Luchaferul Sovkhoz in Kotovski Rayon; F.V. Chebotar, chairman of the Progress Kolkhoz in Ryshkanskiy Rayon; and A.I. Poroshenko and L.G. Tsyt Sugina, former director and chief bookkeeper at the Bendery Experimental Repair Plant.

We should stress the fact that the prevention of negative occurrences is now being stressed. The campaign against the padding of figures and sham is being conducted in a climate of greater openness. There has been a marked increase in the number of articles in large-circulation republic, rayon and city newspapers, television and radio broadcasts. Recently, when the mass media have brought out violations of Soviet legality for public judgement, they have not only revealed the nature of the violations but also exposed the causes.

The management system is being actively restructured, and principles of economic self-sufficiency are being expanded in the functioning of the labor collectives. The new procedure for planning, financing and the provision of material incentives is contributing to a closer interlinkage of personal, team and state interests. As a rule, the padding of figures has been eliminated in subdivisions using the collective contract.

The branches, especially those of the agro-industrial complex, are working to improve and completely mechanize the accounting. This is making it possible to increase the authenticity of the report figures and to prevent any sort of distortions in them. Steps have been worked out for completing the conversion of all kolkhozes and sovkhozes to fully mechanized accounting in 1987.

The work being performed by party and soviet organs and public organizations has made it possible to create a generally wholesome moral and psychological climate in the republic. The vast majority of our people and our cadres in charge perform honestly and conscientiously, at full capacity. This is making it possible to increase the pace of industrial and agricultural production, to honorably fulfill the plans and meet the large socialist commitments in many respects.

Dishonesty and anti-state acts reflected in the padding of figures and deception continue to make themselves felt, however.

The proportion of enterprises submitting distorted reports continues to be high. With respect to the padding of figures and deception, the number is actually growing. For the first half-year, as in the past, a particularly large number of such cases were revealed in the reporting of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and interfarm enterprises, in the consumer service system and transport.

Inspections have shown that the practice of padding figures in construction is still alive and well. Not just exaggerated volumes of construction and installation work but out-and-out padding of figures are discovered in construction projects each year. For example, it was discovered that every second building constructed during the first 6 months contained unfinished work and defects. This was particularly true of social, cultural and consumer service facilities. It is as though the builders have been conditioned to expect the clients to accept them with any sort of deficiency. The recent earthquake graphically demonstrated the consequences of this.

Deception is still permitting many collectives to receive illegal awards and even to win in the socialist competition. There are especially numerous examples of this in the republic's Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Committee]. In order to arrive at the inflated results, they frequently keep livestock off the records, distort the records on the number of heifers and the basic herd, add the milk from cows designated for fattening to the "average" yields and illegally write off milk for feeding calves, which artificially inflates the gross milk yields and the productivity of the herd. Instances of this were uncovered on 10 percent of the farms in 1985 and on 26.6 percent in the first half of 1986. A recent check of the authenticity of records on the cattle herd showed violations on every fourth farm in the republic.

Such anti-state practices cause enormous harm to the national economy, create conditions conducive to the theft of the people's property and undermine the principles of socialist distribution according to labor and socialist justice.

It is not just a matter of economic losses, however, but also of political and moral damage inflicted upon our society by the padding of figures and deception. They have a demoralizing effect upon our cadres, ruin them. In the final analysis, the society is interested not in how much is produced (or not produced) but in how fully its needs are met. The padding of figures and sham give the appearance that things are well and make it possible to conceal serious deficiencies and omissions in the organizational and management work.

What accounts for the tenacity of such intolerable occurrences? The main thing perhaps, is the fact that the party and administrative pressures applied to violators of the established order are still superficial and do not go deep enough. The criticism and punishment come after the fact, as a rule, and practically no work is done to prevent the padding of figures and deception. The fact should be acknowledged in a spirit of self-criticism that the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, its Bureau the Secretariat and the Central Committee apparatus do not act with adequate consistency, persistence and sometimes, determination, in this matter. Numerous decisions which have been adopted have not been implemented to the full extent, and their preventive role has been reduced.

The party raykoms and gorkoms act sporadically, occasionally, in the campaign against distortions in reports to the state and the padding of figures. They do not take effective steps to indoctrinate all cadres in a spirit of nonacceptance of this evil. There are widespread cases of party organs showing tolerance of individuals guilty of padding figures. Investigations have shown that decisions regarding these matters are adopted in camera, without adequate publicity, and are frequently aimed more at whitewashing "victorious" reports than at giving those who love such reports their just deserts. The pattern is a simple one: the Communist-and-manager who has committed an infraction is sternly taken to task; he repents; he is even given a penalty; and then--frequently with the knowledge of the party committees--he is transferred to another highly-paid position. The reason frequently given is "concern for the individual" or a desire to give him the opportunity to change his ways.

The case involving S.S. Milkan, former director of an experimental machinery repair plant of the Doyna scientific association for tobacco production, is disgraceful. With his connivance and his direct participation, one quarter of the plant's

1985 output represented padding of the figures. The plant managers, engineering and technical personnel, and white-collar workers were illegally paid around 16,000 rubles in bonuses as a result of this machination. The deceiver, removed by the Dnestrovsk People's Control Committee and issued a stern party reprimand, which went into his record, immediately went to work at Spetsstroy Mekhanizatsiya Trust No. 1 with a considerable raise in pay. The illegal bonuses were not repaid. The Kishinev city party committee acted absolutely correctly and brought the case to an end: all of the guilty parties have been punished, Milkan has been expelled from the CPSU, and order is being established at the plant.

Unfortunately, these are not isolated cases. Most of those punished by the party raykoms and gorkoms for padding figures and deception remained at their former jobs or have been transferred to other managerial work. Is it necessary to prove that this kind of lack of principle and all-forgiveness is what gives rise to relapses into deception?!

Inattention to these matters at the primary level is a major factor retarding the establishment of proper order. Far from all of the party organizations are conscientiously performing their statutory task of protecting the state's interests and cutting off attempts to defraud the state. The matters of improving the primary accounting and the performance of the bookkeeping services and warehouse operations of enterprises, associations and organizations, and the selection of personnel for jobs involving responsibility for materials frequently escape their attention. Many party organization commissions for monitoring the performance of the administration and the work of the apparatus are not properly performing their functions. And it was laxity in the primary accounting which was the basic cause of padding of figures and deception in most of the organizations inspected.

Ye.Kh. Kayrakov, former director of the Danchenskiy Sovkhoz in Kutuzovskiy Rayon, was expelled from the party in August of this year. Along with the chief accountant and other specialists, he had systematically padded the figures in order to make it appear that the milk production plan was being fulfilled. A total of 1,228 tons of milk, worth 244,745 rubles, was added to the gross milk yield in the statistics reported to the state. Could the sovkhos Communists not have been aware of these and other criminal acts?

The volume of custom tailoring, furniture repair and photographic services was padded by 10,400 rubles worth of work for 1985 in the Oknitskiy RPU [Rayon Production Administration] of the Ministry of Consumer Services. The primary party organization did not assess the matter from a standpoint of party principle. Not until the workers had written a letter and it had been verified by a party control commission under the Moldavian CP Central Committee did the Oknitskiy Rayon party committee issue RPU Chief B. N. Yalovyy a stern reprimand for padding the figures, which went into his record, and he was relieved of his position.

There are a number of factors and conditions which make it possible to violate laws governing management, not the least of which are the bourgeois, narrow-minded individualism and relapses into petty-bourgeois ways to which a certain part of the population is susceptible to one degree or another. A certain stereotypical attitude toward deception and the padding of figures has developed in many places. Essentially, it is that "the individual is striving not for himself but

for the collective." But that individual is becoming accustomed to undeserved earnings and to the defrauding of the state, and his actions are governed by local interests.

The respectable Philistine does not himself steal. When others do this, however, he feels that it is not his business. He is socially neutral, so to speak, and only makes a solid distinction between two concepts: "mine" and "theirs." To him the state's interests are also "theirs." He is perfectly indifferent when it comes to public property.

The indifference to socialist property and the relapses into the private-ownership mentality which we encounter represent deficiencies in our ideological work. We also see the effect of the fact that for a long time we told people primarily about their rights and only mentioned in passing their obligations to society. But socialism has nothing to do with philanthropy. It is a society of labor and creativity. And it is our task to enhance the creative capability of each labor collective, each worker, to instil in him a sense of being the concerned proprietor of the society's property, to develop a citizen with an active socialist stance in life.

It is equally important to conduct the indoctrinational work so as to make every urban and rural worker aware that his primary civic duty is to wage an uncompromising fight against negative occurrences, so as to imbue every Communist and every worker with the spirit of those changes for which the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee laid the foundation.

A weakening of the individual's sense of economic, moral and political responsibility for his actions results in under-utilization of the means of production and shortage of output, and ultimately retards the achievement of the party's main objective of raising the people's standard of living. It was therefore with good reason that V.I. Lenin linked the responsibility of workers under socialism directly to their new position in the society. "The aware worker," he wrote, "must feel not only that he is the master at his own plant but also that he represents the nation, and must personally feel the responsibility." ("PSS"[Complete Collected Works], Vol. 36, p. 369-370)

These words of the leader are particularly valid today. And the Communists are expected to set an example of responsible, thrifty handling of the people's property. Unfortunately, certain primary party organizations are timid and incompetent when it comes to influencing the shaping of a truly wholesome microclimate in the labor collectives, a climate of universal condemnation of the defrauding of the state. The secretaries of party organizations and other activists themselves are sometimes unable to demonstrate to the workers the true essence of crimes of avarice and demonstrate political near-sightedness and economic illiteracy. This gives rise to decisions lacking teeth, in which certain party committees and bureaus usually do not go beyond numerical assessments, see and depict losses in terms of rubles, and forget about political conclusions. This truncated approach corrupts the cadres and develops a sort of compensatory principle: "The figures were padded one day; some of the damage was corrected the next." But what about the day after that?

An important reserve lies in considerably improving the functioning of state control and management agencies. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is presently

doing little to monitor the observance of existing laws, and the Council of Ministers and the collegia of republic ministries and departments come back to these matters only occasionally. Again, the steps taken by these agencies are not oriented toward the long term. The decisions ordinarily assess events which have already occurred. Proper demandingness is not applied to those guilty of padding figures. Only 64 percent of those found guilty of padding figures in 1985 were disciplined. Only 1,150 rubles, less than one twentieth, of the 24,850 rubles illegally paid out as bonuses in 1986 has been returned to the state.

A considerable monitoring system has been formed in the republic. It includes state statistical agencies, people's control, finance and administrative services, and departmental control. Unfortunately, there are serious deficiencies in the work of this entire, large army. On the one hand, there are organizational and personnel weaknesses, inconsistency on the part of the monitors, and inability to delve promptly and deeply into urgent problems. There are also cases of open connivance with the violators of state order, inability and frequently, disinclination to exacerbate the situation. Audits and inspections were conducted in 116 organizations by auditing and inspection services of the former Ministry of the Food Industry in 1985 and 1986, for example, in 108 organizations by those of the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Construction, in 64 by services of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and in 37 by those of the Ministry of Local Industry. Distortions of report figures were not uncovered in a single one, however. When enterprises of those ministries were inspected by state statistical agencies and other monitoring bodies, padding of figures was ordinarily uncovered. The role of republic finance agencies, primarily the Ministry of Finance, Gosbank and Stroybank, is still not being felt in the battle against the padding of figures.

Agencies of the Central Statistical Administration are expected to protect the state's interests. We might as well admit that their performance is lethargic and unsatisfactory, however. Their inspections are superficial in many cases, do not cover all aspects of the authenticity of report data in the sectors of the republic's economy and are most frequently limited to a single rayon.

It has been a long time since the state statistical agencies have conducted inspections covering the most important aspects of production effectiveness at a broad range of enterprises and organizations. These include the existence and utilization of production potential in industry and agriculture, the mastery of new types of manufactured goods, number of employees and size of wage fund, outlays for scientific and technical work, and average reductions in standard consumption of raw and processed materials. The quality of the inspections continues to be low.

Republic, rayon and city people's control committees are doing a poor job of monitoring the fulfillment of party and state decisions on the elimination of padding and other distortions in reports to the state. On the practical level they are still devoting little attention to the preventive work. In most cases it simply amounts to adopting decisions after the fact. Fewer than half of the verifications of report data conducted by the republic People's Control Committee in 1985 were planned. Most of them were undertaken in response to reports and letters from the workers. The role of people's control groups and posts has clearly been reduced locally, and they are not engaging in a purposeful and consistent campaign against padding and deception.

The inspections conducted by people's control agencies are not very effective. As a rule, they do not reveal or thoroughly analyze the causes of the padding of figures. It is not surprising that repeat inspections show that it has taken place again. The republic committee established the fact that milk yields had been exaggerated by 21-68 kilograms per cow in Rybnitskiy Rayon in March and April of 1986, for example. A subsequent inspection, in August, showed a similar situation. A people's controller found 332 tons of unreported metal products in the Moldmetalloznabsbyt administration of the republic's Main Supply Administration as of 1 January 1985. Exactly 1 year later, 20 different kinds of metal products had been concealed from the inventory in that same organization.

There are major deficiencies in the work of law-enforcement agencies. Their inspections, planned or unannounced, are not always coordinated or purposeful. In most cases this work is performed in isolation from economic and monitoring agencies. The republic procurator's office, its courts and the Ministry of Internal Affairs make few suggestions for enhancing the preventive work.

The practical work of most city and rayon law-enforcement agencies is still not aggressive or forceful enough and is poorly focused on bringing officials guilty of padding figures strictly and resolutely to accountability and on eliminating the causes of deliberate distortion of figures on state plan fulfillment. Appropriate surveillance activities were not conducted at all by the procurator's office in 1985 and 1986 in a number of rayons: Kagulskiy, Rezinskiy, Strashenskiy and Nisporenskiy. The procurator's offices of most rayons do not protest unlawful orders awarding bonuses or acts of acceptance of uncompleted construction projects for use.

The reduced level of activity this year is completely inexplicable. For example, only five officials were disciplined and 16 were fined during the first half of 1986 on the basis of findings from inspections conducted in the campaign against the padding of figures and deception. The numbers were 93 and 192 people respectively in 1985 (for the entire year!), however. Nor have the procurator's agencies gotten the management leaders to make restitution for the loss caused by the exaggeration of figures. The number of actions fell from 100 in 1981 to 71 in 1985. Gross errors were made and incompetence demonstrated in many of the investigations and the consideration of cases of padding, and red tape has not been eliminated.

Nor have the justice agencies reoriented themselves in the work. The "leniency" of the punishment for malicious padders of figures is amazing. They are incarcerated extremely rarely, and the matter of preventing them from occupying managerial positions in the future is discussed in only every second case. This approach runs counter to the party's instructions that managers who have compromised themselves should be prevented from moving from one position to another.

These shortcomings in the work of monitoring agencies in the republic are due to a certain degree to an inadequate level of work by their party organizations. They are still doing little to influence the service performance of the Communists, not taking specific steps to eliminate errors in the work of the latter, and not increasing the responsibility of all the workers for their assigned job. The discussion of matters pertaining to the strengthening of state discipline and stepping up the battle against mismanagement and the padding of figures at party

meetings and at sessions of party committees and bureaus is sometimes only a formality and brings practically no progress in eliminating negative occurrences. The city and rayon party committees, even the Central Committee departments, have little influence on these party organizations.

On the other hand, a casual attitude toward the findings of inspections and toward reports and signals from monitoring agencies is widespread. Certain leaders of ministries and departments, enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes allow themselves to put off for a long time the matter of reviewing the information from inspections conducted by the Central Statistical Administration, Gosbank, Stroybank, finance agencies and the procurator's office, make liberal decisions and keep the guilty parties from being held accountable.

Despite a decision by Gosstroy and the Central Statistical Administration of the Moldavian SSR not to report completion of a project, a school for 1,176 students, the Kutuzovskiy Rayon Ispolkom did not reverse its decision, considering this to be inexpedient, and only directed the attention of the acceptance commission members to the fact that inadequate principle had been demonstrated. The Yedinetskiy RAPO [Rayon Agro-Industrial Association], in which there were cases of gross distortion of report data for the Kalininsk Canning Plant, the Lopatnikskiy Sovkhoz and the Kolkhoz imeni Frunze, also limited its action to a conference with the farm leaders. Cases of this were also uncovered in the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the Ministry of Construction of the Moldavian SSR, in Drokiyevskiy, Kalarashskiy, Faleshtskiy and certain other rayons.

The party committees are making inadequate use of the trade union organizations for eliminating the padding of figures. And it is not surprising that the campaign against this evil has escaped their attention. It is not directly discussed at meetings of presidiums, at plenums or trade union meetings, either at the center or locally. The republic committees of branch trade unions--the agro-industrial complex, motor transport, local industry and municipal service enterprises--are not performing this work satisfactorily.

The padding of figures and distortions in reports, so-called "extrapolation" and the accompanying theft are among the antisocial, criminal activities in management practices. Our campaign against them is conducted mainly on a legal and an administrative and organizational basis, with monitoring methods. This is no longer enough. Inadequacies in production planning, the norming of resource consumption, labor organization and incentives contribute significantly to the vitality and the dissemination of these occurrences.

It is important to enhance the mobilizing role of the plan as a factor for accelerating economic development. For this purpose, the republic Gosplan is going to have to give the plan greater stability and balance and to base it on firm economic norms. We must accelerate the work of evaluating the agro-economic resources of the rayons and farms in the republic, which will make for more objective planning of production and procurement of agricultural products and will "ground" the plans in a realistic resource supply.

The still-existing unreliability of material and technical supply is not helping to strengthen state discipline. It accounts for irregularity of production, temporary all-out efforts with subsequent, excessive overtime payments and abnormal

supplies of stocks. And these are frequently used for uncontrolled exchanged with other enterprises for scarce supplies. When poorly safeguarded, they are stolen.

Gossnab and its subdivisions need to switch more boldly to through shipments from the manufacturing enterprise to the consuming enterprise, bypassing bases and depots. Three quarters of the deliveries are made by this method in the nation, but in Moldavia the warehouse system accounts for more than half of the deliveries in the material and technical supply system. This involves considerable additional cost for storage, transshipment and delivery. When we add to this the primitive metrological system at the bases and depots and at the enterprises and farms themselves, it becomes clear why we also have to close off this channel for padding figures and defrauding the state as rapidly as possible.

It is extremely important to universally adopt the principles of economic self-sufficiency. This makes it possible economically and not "in the form of an order" to strengthen production, technological and labor discipline, to develop the collective forms of labor organization and incentives and to enhance monitoring from below, accountability and openness in the work of management services and directors. We know, after all, that the attitude toward state property is shaped primarily by those actual circumstances into which the individual is placed, by his possibilities for influencing the organization of production, the distribution and use of the results of the work.

The cadres have an extremely large role in the creation of these circumstances. There is still strong faith in the power of paperwork, instructions, circulars and so forth in the republic ministries and departments. They have a conservative organizational structure. This accounts for the desire to remain the way they are and for attempts to achieve "acceleration" on the old basis, without changing anything. This is why management cadres with modern economic thinking are the key element at the stage of restructuring, the stage of converting to primarily economic methods of management. And they need to be evaluated only on the basis of the actual results achieved in "combat operations" on the economic front, from their understanding of what M.S. Gorbachev said at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: "mismanagement is not only intolerable; it is now beyond the strength" of our economy.

Today, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee considers it essential to demand that party committees, ministries, state committees and departments take immediate steps toward a restructuring of their work in the spirit of the party's demands, and implement the CPSU Central Committee's intentions of totally eliminating distortions of the actual state of affairs. In the very near future, we need to investigate every case of padding of figures and deception coming to light and bring to accountability along party lines, beginning with the primary organizations, in accordance with the CPSU Charter, those Communists in managerial positions and other officials guilty of committing them. We should go so far as to expel them from the party, remove them from their position and prosecute them.

We need to use all forces and means to establish a climate of very great discipline and organization in the labor collectives. The party committees and organizations must systematically, aggressively and uncompromisingly combat the falsification of reports, reveal the causes of negative occurrences publically and openly, in the light of M.S. Gorbachev's speech at Krasnodar and in Stavropol

Kray, and truthfully demonstrate not only the economic aspect but also the moral aspect of the harm caused by this evil. We need to resolutely expose the opinion which exists in some places that "petty" padding of figures is harmless and to regard the habit and tolerance of figure-padding as subversion of the principles of planned economic management, as an economic narcotic which rapidly corrupts the cadres, who will then not hesitate to defraud the state by large amounts. We should at the same time consistently establish the collectivistic mentality and the principle of socialist fairness, and do everything possible to publicize the prestige of honest, conscientious work.

We need to make it a practice to periodically verify the state of affairs at the sites and to increase the responsibility, the intolerance and the militancy of the primary party organizations with respect to resolutely halting and eliminating deception, the padding of figures, mismanagement, negligence and other such abuses.

There must be greater demandingness with respect to the managers and specialists responsible for the state of the monitoring and audit work. Never once in the past 2 years have the Communists responsible for this rendered account at meetings of the bureaus of party raykoms or gorkoms, party committees or the bureaus of primary party organizations.

This subject is not being discussed very much in the current report-and-election campaign. Those presenting the reports at meetings of party groups, shop and primary party organizations are not even mentioning the names of those guilty of padding the figures. This needs to be rectified. Every instance of nonobjective information or distortion of reports should be regarded as a gross violation of party and state discipline.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers are going to have to see that the ministries, state committees, departments and other republic agencies of state and economic control implement the party's demands that proper state order be established in the record-keeping and reporting, that mismanagement and waste, the padding of figures and deception, boasting and abuse of authority be resolutely eliminated. They must strive to ensure that the guilty parties in every case receive punishment in accordance with existing laws.

The work of all monitoring and administrative agencies, departmental and public control must be improved considerably. The leaders are required to supervise the monitoring and audit services and bear personal responsibility for the state of record-keeping and reporting, for the safekeeping of resources and for the quality and authenticity of information on the state of affairs in the sectors of the economy, at enterprises, in associations and other economic subdivisions.

The times in which we live are issuing a powerful call for decisive changes. They are applying strict party demandingness to all--both Communists and non-party members. The strategy of acceleration, which stems from the acknowledgement of the human factor's determining role, demands that party and soviet organs and public organizations seek new approaches to the accomplishment of the new tasks. The thorough understanding of the ideas and tasks advanced by the party on the part of the cadres at all levels and all of the workers, and their implementation have the paramount role in this matter.

There is a great deal of work to be done, but it is extremely necessary. All party, state and public organizations, every labor collective and every honorable person are expected to find a place in it. Unquestionably, it will then be visibly reflected in the republic's affairs and will produce perceptible results in the restructuring of all the work, in the responsible and intense struggle to fulfill plans for the 12th five-year period and decisions coming out of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KOROLEV ADDRESSES MOSCOW GORKOM PLENUM

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 86 pp 1, 3

[Report of speech at Moscow Gorkom 4 October 1986 Plenum by Moscow Gorkom Secretary O.A. Korolev]

[Text] The 26th city party conference, O.A. Korolev said, formulated the fundamentally important direction of Moscow's further development with reliance on its own labor potential. It was extensively approved and supported, represents something new in the life of the city and is to be an essential factor of the rebuilding of its economy on intensive development methods. The decision to halt the enlistment of out-of-town workers as of 1987 was adopted.

Determining significance for the fulfillment of all our plans is attached under these conditions to an increase in the efficiency of the use of labor resources. And the plans are very taut.

I would remind you that compared with the 11th Five-Year Plan we have to augment by a factor of 1.6 the rate of increase in production and by 25 percent the volume of construction and implement major social programs in health care, education, trade and public catering. All this is to be accomplished by the efforts of Muscovites.

The speaker went on to briefly describe how the particular seriousness of the problem of labor resources arose.

In recent years many sectors of the city's economy have been developed thanks to the importation of out-of-town workers and a considerable expansion of fixed production capital, he emphasized. Compared with 1975 the population has increased by 900,000 and the per worker capital availability has increased 87.9 percent, but the output-capital ratio has constituted only 71.5 percent of that achieved 10 years ago.

The possibilities of this extensive development of the city economy have not contributed to the cultivation of a truly solicitous attitude toward resources, labor primarily. Contenting themselves with the temporary and, as it has turned out in practice, illusory benefits of the importation of temporary

workers, many managers of all levels have essentially absented themselves from a radical solution of the problems arising in the city. Nor have the party organizations involved themselves in practice in the solution of "painful" questions. The results of such an approach are now at hand.

More than 900,000 persons are still employed in physically heavy, manual labor in sectors of the city's economy. It was to this work that the main stream of out-of-town workers was sent. A kind of belief that the need for workers of a whole number of occupations could be met only thanks to temporary workers was cultivated.

The short-sighted attitude toward the problem of human resources has led to a manifest underestimation of many social issues: industrial conditions, catering, medical services. The level of their solution in the city is extremely low.

The initiatives of the country's foremost outfits pertaining to the performance of operations with fewer workers and the elimination of manual labor and others have bypassed the city's organizations or remained on paper.

Despite approval of many of the most varied undertakings, this direction has been neither properly supported nor, even less, extensively disseminated.

But there are enterprise outfits which are oriented toward their own powers.

We will succeed in advancing rapidly if each enterprise has a clear-cut development prospect and action program for the increased efficiency of the use of the city's available labor potential and switches in practice from words and slogans to daily, specific and painstaking work.

It is first of all necessary to tackle questions of an increase in labor productivity.

The arterial direction here is the comprehensive modernization and retooling of the enterprises.

Fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee Politburo decree on the results of the work of the city report and election conference, the ministries and departments have set aside considerable resources from Moscow's industry. At the majority of enterprises average annual replacement of the machine tools and production equipment will constitute 12-15 percent.

Our task is to utilize the allocated resources such as to really rearm Moscow enterprises in revolutionary fashion on the basis of the most modern equipment and technology.

The city has experience of a comprehensive approach to the rebuilding of production.

Enterprises are currently studying the plans for modernization and retooling for their correspondence to the demands of the CPSU Central Committee June (1986) Plenum.

Studying is one thing. In the 5-year plans for the development of various sectors which have been sent to the gorkom there are as yet only a few really revolutionary decisions. Enterprises even of such a progressive and priority sector as electronics plan to introduce throughout the 5-year plan only three flexible systems, and there are not enough fundamental decisions in machine-tool building, instrument building and electrical engineering.

We must not forget the lessons of the past, when in many cases what occurred was not the replacement but the addition of fixed capital. At Moscow's bearing industry plants the production volume compared with 1975 has risen only 2 percent, and productivity, 14 percent. And even this discrepancy in indicators is explained by overtime work, given an actual shortage of workers. They have been one of the main consumers of out-of-town workers, and today their technical level is such that managers can hardly imagine how to fulfill the plans without the temporary workers.

Yet in the past 10 years these enterprises' industrial production capital has increased 85 percent. Huge resources have been invested, but there have been no actual returns.

In the city as a whole the swelling of the equipment pool and the preservation of obsolete equipment have led to the emergence of new complex problems.

In 1985 spending on major repairs at all Moscow enterprises was 30 percent greater than their deduction into the production development fund and reached almost the amount of the capital investments in retooling. Repair workers became one of the most understaffed occupations. Last year the city's vocational-technical schools trained 6,000 mechanics, half of whom became repair men, but graduated only 100 operators for machine tools with numerical programmed control. This is an example of how an incorrect investment policy causes an artificial worker shortage.

From the very start of the 5-year plan things have not been going well with the assimilation of the resources allocated us for the replacement of fixed capital.

Among those who, evidently, are reluctant to modernize their production are the managers and party leaders of the plants imeni Vladimir Ilich, "Dinamo" and "Serp i molot," the "Vulkan" and "Kauchuk" associations and, however oddly, the Glavmospromstroy, where the capital investments allocated for in-house development have been assimilated only 81 percent.

Many enterprises cannot realize their available resources since the necessary equipment and computer facilities have not been coordinated and provided with capital. This means that the work of plant and factory engineering services and of the officials of ministries in charge of Moscow enterprises is proceeding in the old way, without undue haste. Having done with such an approach,

doing everything necessary to make up for what has been lost and preventing miscalculations and errors when drawing up the retooling plans for next year--this is today's task.

The party committees and bureaus must establish truly party-minded supervision of the realization of the renewal programs. It is necessary to strive for an absolute reduction in the available equipment.

A most important problem for us, the speaker continued, is the automation of engineering work. A systemic approach in this question is as yet lacking. According to the 1985 report, resources channeled into the introduction of computer equipment constitute only 3.7 percent of total expenditure on the introduction of S&T measures.

New buildings have been erected in recent years for many research organizations, scientific research institutes and design offices. The vast majority of them are filled up with Kuhlman drafting units and office desks.

And a further 196 engineering-laboratory buildings are to be introduced in this 5-year plan. Their cost structure is such: approximately 60 percent construction-installation work, the rest, mainly furniture.

No plan for a new engineering building has been found which contains automated design systems, automated workplaces and PC's. At the time of the introduction of industrial facilities it is truly a question of capacity for the manufacture of products, at the time of the handover of engineering buildings bare walls are presented. It is impossible to agree with this practice. It is essential to tackle the question of comprehensive plans of engineering buildings, and indicators such as, for example, the level of the engineer's provision with computers, the computer storage accruing to him and so forth should be established for them also.

There is no end of work to be done here. But tackling the tasks of the technical revolution is simply impossible without the extensive computerization of engineering work. The State Committee for Science and Technology should have its say on these questions also.

The research institutes and design offices located in Moscow are, as a rule, the head institutes in their sector. The gorkom expects of the ministry and department party committees that they will study their development prospects and ensure that the resources allocated for the real automation of engineering work be concentrated in the organizations intended to be true conduits of S&T progress.

The level of the leaders and the militancy of the party organizations of the research institutes and design offices should be judged by their perseverance in the solution of this problem. The raykoms also are manifestly underestimating its significance--the draft rayon pledges contain practically no specific measures pertaining to engineers' increased labor productivity.

Questions of the mechanization of manual labor are very acute. In the past 10 years the proportion thereof in construction has declined by only 1.5 points and today constitutes 67.8 percent, which is 8 points higher than the average for the country.

It is necessary to undertake the genuine industrialization of the entire municipal-consumer service sphere. In public catering, for example, there are only 20 kitchen factories, which were built in the prewar and immediate postwar years and which have a primitive mechanization level. The capital does not have a single dining room where food-preparation processes are mechanized at the level of the plant dining room at the VEF Association in Riga.

Under the cover of so-called objective reasons industrial methods of work are being applied extremely inadequately in the city's trade. Containerization, the introduction of vending machines and the sale of packaged products have yet to enjoy due dissemination.

The leaders of the Glavobshchepit and Glavtorg like to repeat that their sectors are 30,000 persons short. At the same time, however, action programs for an increase in the labor efficiency of the workers of these spheres have yet to be drawn up and approved. The introduction of just one factory-procurement center is envisaged in the 5-year plan, although it has long been known that labor productivity at them increases 60 percent.

From all that has been said there is just one conclusion: in each sector of the national economy there are real paths toward an increase in labor productivity and definite progressive experience. The task of the raykoms and party organizations is to strive actively and persistently for the practical introduction of all that is new and progressive.

The fact that the habit of accompanying negligible improvements with ringing words and adapting pledges to the directive figures or recommendations has proved very tenacious puts us on our guard, comrades.

The leaders of many rayons speak about comprehensively mechanized shops and bays and cannot explain what this means. If we count how many of them have been created in the city in the past 15 years according to the reports, it transpires that the majority of industrial enterprises are operating in accordance with people-free technology. The pledges adopt high indicators pertaining to the creation in industry of financially autonomous brigades, but it turns out that they are simply being confused with brigades distributing earnings per the labor participation factor.

This characterizes the low level of professional competence and economic erudition of the party, soviet and trade union workers. They are frequently ignorant of the meaning of a number of the indicators in the submitted draft pledges. Without an in-depth understanding of the intrinsic essence of renewal and the ways of realizing acceleration strategy active party influence on these processes is impossible. It needs to constantly be remembered that the party worker who does not comprehend the essence of the matter cannot

matter cannot enjoy authority among managers, brigade leaders, workers and the party aktiv. There is something to think about and work on here for each member of the raykoms and the gorkom, each assistant of our party, soviet and trade union machinery and each activist.

Particular significance for increased labor productivity is attached to the human factor. Big potential is being revealed with the active application of progressive methods of management and the organization of labor and various forms of the stimulation of work with fewer workers. Spending on their realization is recouped in several months, and real productivity growth amounts to 15-20 percent.

The gorkom bureau studied and approved the work of the party organizations and labor outfits of the Moscow Railroad pertaining to the introduction of the progressive experience of the Belorussian railroad workers. Thanks to the extensive use of achievements of science and new methods of the organization and stimulation of labor, more than 28,000 persons have already been released here, including more than 6,000 workers and employees at the Moscow Junction. Within the limits of the planned amount of the wage fund, wage rates and salary scales will be raised an average R30-40. The experience is very specific and has been supported by all transport workers and adopted for the broadest dissemination. For this reason we are justified in asking the leaders of the City Planning Committee why the plan contains a significant increase in the number of transport workers and what has become of unity of word and deed?

Or the brigade form of the organization of labor. It was conceived in Moscow's construction outfits more than 10 years ago. The annual increase in labor productivity in the foremost brigades of a factor of 2-2.5 is higher than its average level.

However, the role of the brigade contract in construction has diminished in recent years. The number of brigades has already declined.

It is time for the raykoms and party committees and bureaus to finish educational work on the advantages of the brigades and it is necessary to inquire how the adopted decisions are being fulfilled.

Much may be achieved by way of an improvement in the organization and stimulation of labor in the sphere of science and scientific services, where over 900,000 persons are employed currently.

There is positive experience here also, of which you know. In the course of certification in the Ferrous Metallurgy Central Research Institute imeni Bardin (N.P. Lyakishev, director and member of the gorkom, A.A. Nikitin, secretary of the party committee) the structure of the institute was revised, 20 of the 130 laboratories were dissolved, 262 research associates who had failed to display high competence and assertiveness were moved to lower positions, about 100 persons were released, the numbers of the research personnel were as a whole reduced 10 percent and the increase in wages for individual categories of associates constituted up to 30 percent.

But in the All-Union Electrothermal Equipment Research Institute (A.S. Borodachev, director, A.I. Kondratyev, secretary of the party committee) only 1 percent of the 1,500 developers was considered not corresponding to the position they held, although only half of the institute's developments are in the top quality category.

There was correct action by the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry party committee (V.S. Ustinov, secretary of the party committee), which, having studied the progress of certification of its employees in the sector's Moscow institutes and having deemed it unsatisfactory, made a scrupulous evaluation of the leaders of the ministry administrations responsible for it.

The use of specialists with higher and secondary specialized education is a problem in the city. We have over 2 million such cadres. No other city in the world has such a concentration of scientific and engineering potential. The achievements of Moscow's science are well known.

However, as sociological studies conducted in more than 500 of the city's enterprises and organizations have shown, specialists with the highest qualifications are used extremely inefficiently. Two-thirds of them have not clearly defined duties, and one out of every three believes that higher education is not necessary to do his job.

The capital currently has over 100,000 engineers, technicians and research workers working in jobs which do not require a special education. Compared with 1980 the number of such workers in construction has grown almost two-fold, in transport and industry by a factor of 3-3.5 and in trade and public catering more than 10-fold. A tremendous number of specialists with degrees--over 132,000--have jobs as workers.

And currently 1.5 times more requests from Moscow organizations for young specialists are received than the city's entire higher school can graduate.

The current practice suits the majority of enterprise managers since it enables them to demand personnel unchecked and have surpluses thereof. It is difficult even to formulate how to assess such mismanagement and irresponsibility.

The level of various unproductive losses is a good indicator of the efficiency of the work of party organizations and managers with respect to the rational use of labor resources.

The general mood of increased discipline and responsibility established in the country following the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the increased demands of the labor collectives on absentee workers and slackers are producing results.

At many enterprises brigades, divisions and bays are assuming commitments concerning collective responsibility for the state of discipline.

In the city as a whole losses of work time owing to breaches of labor discipline, absenteeism, idling and leave with the administration's permission have been cut 22 percent compared with last year.

Nonetheless, they are impermissibly high. Over 35,000 persons went absent for an average of 3 days each in industry and construction in 6 months.

Personnel turnover must be mentioned. In the course of the year 470,000 persons change their place of work, and each of these persons does no work during the transition for an average of 25 days, which is the equivalent of a loss of 53,000 workers.

The losses brought about by temporary disability should be highlighted particularly. In 1985 every working person of the city failed to show up at work owing to illness for more than 2 weeks on average.

The "Health" program was recently adopted at a Moscow City Soviet session. It provides for a set of measures to improve medical services and the solution of major social questions at work and in everyday life. The purpose is to achieve a reduction in the per worker temporary disability of no less than 3.5 days on average, and this means an additional 30,000 working people.

One further form of direct losses, which, furthermore, is taken into consideration inadequately, has become widespread here and has sunk deep roots--diversion of workers and employees from the job.

There are certain positive changes, it is true. Instances of people being engaged, instead of their main work, in garbage removal on city territory or the grounds of construction projects are now isolated. However, this has not applied sufficiently to the vegetable depots, seasonal trade and assistance to the sponsored rural plots. The ways toward a real improvement here are an increase in the level of mechanization of materials handling and laborious processes and the correct organization of the labor of primary workers.

These questions are being studied specifically in Leningradskiy, Krasnopresnenskiy, Sverdlovskiy and certain other rayons.

The directly opposite results are produced by an inability to organize. Pervomayskiy and Ramenskiy rayons jointly determined upon a quota for the harvesting of potatoes and vegetables 15 percent lower than last year. However, the necessary measures providing for its fulfillment with fewer forces were not adopted. There was no reduction in the numbers of those enlisted in the harvesting operations. Things are roughly the same in Brezhnevskiy, Gagarinskiy, Kievskiy and Timiryazevskiy rayons.

We have a right today to set the following assignment: to abandon completely in this 5-year plan the dispatch of workers and employees to the fruit and vegetable bases and to sharply cut labor expenditure in operations on the oblast's sponsored farms.

A tremendous amount of work has to be done, and there is no warm-up time. It must be headed, organized and coordinated by the raykoms and the Moscow Agro-Industrial Committee.

There are still big reserves of labor resources, which are simply lying on the surface.

Government decrees determined the enterprises and organizations which were to withdraw from the city. Only lack of supervision and interest on the part of city organizations can explain their nonfulfillment in the preceding 5-year plan: of the planned 141 enterprises, only 73 withdrew.

There has been neither persistence nor exactingness in the solution of this question. Ministry and department party committees have not been exacting in party-minded fashion in respect of managers for the fulfillment of the government decisions and have tried in every possible way to justify their inactivity on this question.

It is necessary to do everything to ensure that there is no repetition of this. To establish strict supervision and aim for the unconditional withdrawal of all 136 enterprises, as envisaged by the 12th Five-Year Plan.

The categories of the population which can, but for various reasons do not, work are a substantial reserve of the replenishment of labor resources. The experience of the work of local industry shows that good results can be achieved. Some 26,000 retirees, invalids and women with small children in the sector work at home.

The work that has been developed in Kalininskiy Rayon on enlisting retirees and students in work merits attention. Advice centers of the rayon employment office and enterprise and organization personnel departments have been set up and are operating under the auspices of the DEZ here. Inhabitants are given detailed information here on the requisite occupations, remuneration conditions and other questions. The creation of year-round student detachments has begun at a number of enterprises of the rayon. For example, at Bakery No 3 student brigades work according to a sliding schedule, predominantly on the second and third shifts.

However, inadequate use is still being made of this additional potential on the whole. Of the almost 2 million retirees, only one out of every three works. Housewives, students and seniors are being inadequately enlisted in work in summertime. And this is largely owing to the dependent, passive position of enterprise and organization leaders. They are not working with the rayon employment office and the DEZ, waiting for them to be sent people and displaying a lack of interest in half-day or part-time workers.

Moscow Gorispolkom administrations drew up a program for the enlistment of this category of people in social production for the current 5-year plan. But it was profoundly formal and lacked fresh approaches and proposals.

The studies pertaining to individual categories of the population and production were not specific. It was no accident that the Moscow City Soviet withdrew it.

But there are very big possibilities here, and rayon-level leaders should study them attentively and use them, and there will then be a more rapid improvement in both service and trade, seasonal particularly.

A few days ago the gorkom secretariat studied the question of the organizing and political work of the Kalininskiy Raykom with respect to preparation of the rayon's production outfits for fulfillment of the quotas of the 5-year plan under the conditions of a reduction in the increase in labor resources. The rayon has certain experience here, but in many areas the work is being performed sluggishly and without sufficient study and initiative. The members of the gorkom and the raykom will in the next few days receive the adopted resolution. The shortcomings noted therein and the measures which are outlined for a strengthening of organizing and political work in the primary party organizations should help all the raykoms come to grips with the actual state of affairs here in the rayon.

The Moscow Gorkom Secretariat drew the summary conclusion: the measures being adopted by a the raykom are of a discrete nature and are not united in a labor-saving policy system.

And this is characteristic of the city as a whole.

We need to immediately organize the efficient control of labor resources and the planning of the number of workplaces in the city and rayon, at each enterprise, in the organization and in the establishment. There is no trace of this today. The arguments concerning the shortage of workers in this sector or the other, of the nonproduction sphere particularly, are frequently based on the existing low level of the organization of labor and a reluctance or inability to seek and find solutions with regard for actual conditions.

An improvement in the sectoral structure of employment and the historically evolved manpower distribution per production sector and organization is a big, complex question. It is all the more important to complete its solution.

Those responsible for this work--the Moscow City Planning Committee and Labor Administration--are not as yet catering for the duties entrusted to them in the planning, stocktaking and supervision of the use of labor resources.

M.R. Kozlov, chief of the Labor Administration, has not drawn the due conclusions from criticism. An atmosphere of formalism thrives in the work of the administration, as before. An in-depth study of the formalism and distribution of labor resources is lacking. No in any way material proposals were received from the administration in the course of elaboration of the plans of the economic and social development of Moscow's economy (sic) in the 12th Five-Year Plan.

The administration's party organization (Comrade Vedernikova, secretary) is reorganizing the style and methods of its work inadequately. Many questions have been examined formally, on paper, but the results and fruitfulness of the adopted decisions--this is of no interest to the administration's communists.

It is no accident that there have been no positive changes in the work of the majority of rayon labor departments. In 13 of the city's rayons their chiefs lack higher economic education, and in 8 of them these departments have no economists at all. Teachers and merchandising specialists are substituting in a whole number of positions. The question of staffing the rayon departments with competent personnel has not even arisen, evidently. Some 25 percent of the administration itself and the rayon departments has been replaced in the past 2 years. Such is the personal example of combating personnel turnover.

Particular mention has to be made of the role and work of the city's enterprise and organization personnel services. The personnel services of the "Mosremstroy Mash" Association, the Machine Tool-Building imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze and "Ogonek" Pilot plants and the Nuclear Energy Institute imeni Kurchatov are working actively and vigorously. But these are more the exception than the rule.

It has to be stated today that the activity of the personnel services has essentially dropped from the field of vision of enterprise party committees and bureaus and the raykoms. The role of this service in the accomplishment of production and social tasks has diminished. Who is it who heads enterprise personnel services?

Among the deputy directors for personnel and department chiefs, only one out of every two in the city on average has higher education. There are instances of persons being hired for this work who formerly compromised themselves and who have been penalized. In many cases this spot is regarded as a quiet backwater where a certain category of managers can tranquilly wait out their pension.

The raykoms lack information on the qualitative composition on the deputy directors and personnel department chiefs and the reasons for their replaceability. They are not concerning themselves with a reserve of this category of officials and losing sight of questions of their certification.

Employees of these departments and their leaders frequently reduce their functions to the mechanical drawing up of papers and do not involve themselves in an analysis of the work on the selection and assignment of personnel and the long term.

Thus until recently the personnel service at the Moscow Tire Plant was headed by the drawing teacher. The result: last year one-third of workers of essential trades were dismissed, one out of every two trainees did not stay to work at the plant and just one graduate from the sponsored school joined the plant in the last 5-year plan.

Questions of the work of enterprise personnel services have not been examined once at raykom bureau sessions and among the secretaries--such is the current level of party attention and influence on subdivisions whose official duties consist of working directly with people.

We are approaching simply inadequately and not in proprietary manner the use of the truly progressive experience available here of the creation of stable labor collectives and not supporting and disseminating it in good time.

Controlling the city's labor resources means striving for the efficient, coordinated work of all components of the personnel service: of enterprise, rayon and city. Work with the personnel is primarily a party task and merits the paramount concern of the raykoms and all primary party organizations.

The main source of the replenishment and formation of the city's labor resources, the speaker continued, should be the schools and vocational-technical colleges.

The first steps in this direction have been taken. The provisions of the school reform pertaining to vocational training in the schools are being implemented.

The Moscow Gorkom Bureau has examined and approved, in the main, a comprehensive program of the development of Moscow's vocational-technical education for the period through the year 2000.

Fulfillment of what is scheduled will depend on a responsible, enterprising and creative approach on the part of the leaders and party organizations of the base enterprises, raykoms and rayispolkoms.

It is just such an attitude toward the vocational-technical school which is being displayed by the collectives of the Auto Plant imeni Likhachev, the Auto Plant imeni Leninskogo komsomola and the Moscow Radio Engineering Plant. They are constantly engaged in the provision of the schools with new equipment and their maintenance, enlist the boys in industrial work extensively and adopt specific measures to retain them at the enterprises.

Such an attitude toward their vocational-technical schools has yet to become the rule for many base enterprises, departments and party and soviet authorities.

In the last 10 years more than R360 million have been spent at the "Serp i molot" Foundry on modernization and retooling, but in the development of the school the plant management has invested not one kopeck. Even if it helps patch up some hole in the roof, it regularly submits a bill, even for an acetylene cylinder.

This attitude of the managers and the party organizations has led to the school's complete loss of prestige in the plant workforce. Only six children of plant workers are studying in it at the present time.

When attempts were made to ascertain from Comrade Stasyuk, deputy director of the plant, how the plant's vocational-technical school would develop in the future, he did not even understand what it was all about. The vocational-technical schools of the GPZ-1, "Avangard" and many other plants are in a similar or even worse position.

Currently at the city's 200 existing schools, one out of every four is housed in dilapidated premises unadapted for classes. Approximately 50 percent of the machine tools which exist in the vocational-technical schools has been in use for 15-20 years and more and is obsolescent and worn.

Every enterprise has plans for the retooling of production, which are generally monitored by the party committees and party bureaus, but practically no one has a plan for the retooling of plant vocational-technical schools.

The raykoms and ministry, enterprise and organization party committees need to hold the base enterprise apologies for managers fully to account and remind them that the vocational-technical school and the industrial-training center are the main sources of the replenishment of labor resources. More perseverance, efficiency and responsibility should be displayed by the public and vocational-technical education main administrations. It is time to establish in all associations and enterprises the rule that together with the plan for retooling a substantiated estimate be prepared of the need for workers with the necessary specialties and qualifications and that the sources of the supply thereof be clearly determined.

There are frequent instances of people believing that new equipment will appear, and everything will right itself of its own accord. The consequences of such frivolity result in economic and moral losses. Last year the most modern equipment was installed at the "Kauchuk" Association's RTI-1 Plant which, according to estimates, was to have produced a big increase in labor productivity. But people had not been prepared and were not trained to handle the new equipment. It is constantly breaking down owing to maladroitness. Labor productivity has declined. People are worrying and leaving the enterprise.

It is precisely owing to the unsatisfactory training of the personnel that newly installed capacity is being assimilated inadequately in the "Plastik" Science-Production Association and the "Oktyabr" Worsted Association, at the "Trekhnaya manufaktura" Works and at many others.

However, the raykoms and Moscow Gorkom sectoral departments are not, as before, paying due attention to the role of the human factor in the assimilation of new equipment, and the work on personnel training and improvement lags considerably behind the industrial enterprises' production activity. This is simply impermissible, and the state of affairs needs to be put right urgently.

A large amount of work has to be performed by our ideological personnel and the mass news and propaganda media.

The worker personnel shortage which the city is experiencing in some sectors is largely determined by the ideas which have taken shape among the inhabitants concerning the prestigious nature of this occupation or the other.

Of course, it is difficult to straight away change people's mentality which has taken shape over years. But effective ways toward this must and can be found. Primarily to foster by the propaganda media the understanding that all work in the city must be performed by our own labor resources.

There is considerable unfinished business in adolescents' work training, and the focus of the trainees' vocational guidance does not correspond to the city's requirements. In out-of-school establishments we offer the children young cosmonaut, astronomer and biologist groups and create young poet and prose writer literary associations. But for those in whom the child's bent for worker occupations is strong, neither groups nor associations. Which rayon pioneer palace, for example, has streetcar operator, craftsmen's joinery and young construction worker groups?

Since childhood the idea is inculcated in the majority of adolescents that being a letter carrier or baker is shameful.

As a result of the connivance at light-fingered persons in trade and services a distorted impression, infected by the "easy life" bacillus, of these sectors had taken shape in some people. Quite recently even it was more difficult to get into a trade school than a theatrical school, and 10 persons would be competing for a single job. When, however, order came to be actively brought to bear in trade, the competition dropped off sharply. This shows that the influence of our ideological work on shaping the concept of the prestigious nature of any occupation is still either close to zero or is a negative factor even. Newspaper columns and television and radio programs contain no consistent propaganda material produced with high professional expertise cultivating a respect for people of worker occupations, particularly those who are honestly and conscientiously concerned from day to day for our social life and leisure time.

State awards for the results of the last 5-year plan were conferred on more than 3,500 workers of sectors of the municipal economy. And do Muscovites know about many of them, about who of them has the press written? Virtually none.

What is presented to the reader and the viewer about the working person is often oversimplified, fails to reveal the creative principles of his labor and is incapable of stirring the youth's interest.

It is necessary to reorganize, and more quickly, our ideological personnel and the entire system of ideological education and make it more effective. And this will not happen without a quest for new forms in this work.

It needs to be said plainly today, the speaker continued, that the approved plan of the city's economic and social development for the 12th five-year period has not succeeded in realizing the aims of the preceding plenum

concerning a reduction in the numbers of those working in sectors of the national economy.

Thus in industry, according to plan, the reduction constituted only 2.1 percent compared with the requisite 5 percent, in science and scientific services 1.2 instead of 7 percent, and in construction and transport, where it was contemplated preserving the numbers at the existing level, a growth thereof of 2.9 and 4.2 percent respectively is planned.

This is simply intolerable.

It is a question of party indiscipline.

The position of the party and soviet leaders of Voroshilovskiy, Sovetskiy, Timiryazevskiy and a number of other rayons, where a growth in the numbers of workers is being planned currently, should be termed unscrupulous. Where is this additional manpower to come from? They hardly have an answer to this. Nor a recognition that it is precisely the leaders of the local authorities who are primarily responsible for ensuring for the economy planned labor resources. The leaders of enterprises and organizations who have failed to fulfill the demands of the gorkom plenum merit the same evaluation.

The gorkom bureau believes that the current situation needs to be rectified urgently. It is now, surely, necessary to adopt certain decisions in tough-minded fashion.

The Moscow City Planning Committee and the rayispolkoms must in the next few days analyze most carefully the plan indicators pertaining to the numbers of workers not only in industry and construction but literally in all organizations on rayon territory and bring the 1987 labor plan into line with the actual availability of labor resources. It must be balanced.

The task set at the gorkom plenum--overfulfilling the 5-year plan quotas with fewer workers--must be accomplished at each enterprise of industry and transport, in each construction, municipal and service organization, research institute and management body and in each workforce.

It is necessary to evaluate the work of the collectives on their realization not in general words of approval for this slogan but in specific commitments pertaining to the release of a specific number of workers from the brigade through the rayon as a whole. The work of Volgogradskiy Rayon on an analysis of the necessary labor resources and sources of their formation merits attention. The rayon's draft socialist pledges provide for the preservation of the number of workers in 1990 at the 1986 level, that is, the additional numerical requirement connected with the introduction of housing and socio-cultural facilities and the development of trade and services will be met thanks to the release of those working at enterprises and in organizations operating currently, and this means over 3,000 persons. It is necessary for all the city's rayons to analyze their possibilities even more attentively and support a very important undertaking for the city.

Labor resources are today for the city a most important resource question. Many managers are calculating scrupulously how much metal, cement and electric power they have saved, but are as yet giving no thought to labor economies. The questions of Moscow's labor resources and their formation and rational use concerns not only individual enterprises and organizations or individual sectors even. It is of an all-embracing nature and in many aspects goes beyond the confines of the city.

Certainly, it would be correct were we to put at the center of our work today the formation in our party, soviet and management personnel and all working people of the city of a common frame of mind and common approach to the problems of economizing on live labor, a fundamental increase in the efficiency of its use and a decisive reduction in all forms of losses of work time. Our entire organizational, political and ideological-educational work must be geared to this.

In conclusion the speaker expressed confidence that the city party organization would raise the work pertaining to the use of the city's labor potential to a qualitatively new level and strive for an increase in Muscovites' contribution to realization of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and fulfillment of the 12th Five-Year Plan quotas.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TURKMEN AKTIV DISCUSSES REPUBLIC SCHOOL REFORM

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 26 Aug 86

[Article: "Let's Provide Dynamism and Acceleration for the School Reform (Report on the Meeting of the Republic's Party and Economic Aktiv)"]

[Excerpts] As has already been reported, a meeting of the republic's party and economic aktiv was held in Ashkhabad on 23 August. The participants discussed the rate at which the republic's party, Soviet, and economic agencies and the public education agencies have been fulfilling the Basic Directions for the Reform of the General Educational and Vocational School System in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 23rd TuCP [Turkmen Communist Party] Congress.

TuCP Central Committee First Secretary S. A. Niyazov spoke at the meeting. Describing the most important sectors in the implementation of the school reform in the republic, he especially dwelt on those problems that have been awaiting an urgent resolution and innovative approach by the party, Soviet, and Komsomol agencies. It was emphasized that the past two years revealed serious shortcomings and omissions in the process of reorganizing the general educational and vocational school system. Not everything that was planned in implementing the reform was carried out or monitored. There was an unsatisfactory resolution of the questions of reinforcing the material-technical base of the general educational schools and the vocational-technical schools, and from year to year the funds that have been channeled into their construction have not been used.

The pedagogical collectives and the primary party organizations at the schools must keep in the center of their attention the educating of ideological conviction in the students, and the formation in them of a class approach to the evaluation of phenomena of life. More creativity, initiative, and cheerful enthusiasm must be present in the work of the Komsomol, Pioneer, and Young Octobrist organizations.

Dwelling upon the problems of labor instruction and education, S. A. Niyazov especially emphasized the role of the base enterprises. At the same time it is necessary to carry out a well-principled analysis of those base enterprises which are only counted as such. Introducing order in this matter is a task for the oblast, city, and rayon ispolkoms. In turn, the TuSSR Council of

Ministers must intensify the demand made on them. It is necessary to take the most decisive steps to correct the practice that has developed in the construction of structures for public education. For TuSSR Minister of Construction (Comrade M. Dzhumakuliyev) and all its subdivisions the activation of school buildings by 1 July must be an indisputable rule. TuSSR Ministry of Municipal Economy (Comrade M. K. Shabasanov) and TuSSR Gossnab (Comrade S. G. Bagramov) must be concerned about the prompt and efficient repairing of the school buildings. It is necessary to start up at full force the construction subdivision that has been created for repairing structures used for social, cultural, and everyday purposes. It is necessary to develop innovative construction and to put it on a firm basis, and to support and provide incentives for those kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and enterprise collectives which, without waiting for instructions from above, looked for the means and began to build the structures that they needed so critically. Experience such as this exists in the republic. Something that is worthy of attention is the initiative of the collectives at the Tbilisi vocational-technical schools which, by the subcontract method, are building various annexes, shops, and other necessary facilities, and which, in a word, have been applying their own efforts to reinforce their material-technical base.

In the work with children, S. A. Niyazov especially emphasized, everything must be subordinated to educational goals and tasks. When they encourage students to take part in the cotton harvesting during school time, many managers do not bother themselves about thinking that they are causing considerable harm to the learning process. In the future, this practice will be punished in the strict party procedure. On-the-job instruction must be given only within the confines stipulated by the curriculum.

It is also necessary to intensify the instructional and educational work in the school itself. Delays in this work lead to serious consequence and have a detrimental effect upon forming the life position of the school graduates. It is no accident that many Turkmen girls, after graduation from secondary school, do not get a job, but, rather, settle down in the household, and young men, in the search for an easy way of life, do not go into production, but into trade and the services sphere.

A matter that is especially alarming, S. A. Niyazov emphasized, is the readiness of the schools to admit six-year-old children. There must be just one approach here -- the creation for the children of the proper conditions that conform to all the medical and psychological requirements. It is necessary to think out carefully the questions of wholesome nutrition and rest and to create conditions for various games. TuSSR Council of Ministers and the appropriate TuCP Central Committee departments must begin to monitor strictly the questions of providing the schools with everything they need for the normal instruction of six-year-old children.

Emphasizing in conclusion that the implementation of the reform of the general educational and vocational school system depends largely upon the coordinated actions of the party, Soviet, and Komsomol organizations, S. A. Niyazov remarked that it is necessary to include as an absolutely mandatory feature in their work the regular consideration, at least once every half-year, of the questions linked with the practical implementation of the reorganization of

school matters as a whole, as well as the strict monitoring of the execution of the decisions that have been made.

In a report that was given at the meeting of the party and economic aktiv by TuCP Central Committee Secretary M. Mollayev, and in the statements that followed the report, it was noted that during the period that has passed since the adoption of the decree dealing with the school reform, definite steps have been taken in the republic to implement it and work has been carried out to improve the educational content and to search for new forms of means for instructing and educating the upcoming generation.

At the same time the past two years have revealed serious shortcomings and omissions in the process of reorganizing the school system. Although the reorganization has affected individual structural-organizational factors, it has left substantially unchanged the pivotal content of the school -- the instructional and educational process -- and its effectiveness and quality.

It was noted that this situation is primarily the consequence of the low level of party guidance of the agencies and institutions of general and vocational-technical education. The party's Ashkhabad, Mary, Krasnovodsk, and Tashauz obkoms have taken a formal approach to the development of measures to fulfill the requirements of the school reform and limited themselves to duplicating the measures taken by the TuCP Central Committee, without any specific forms, means, or execution deadlines. As a result, most of these measures continue to this day to exist only on paper.

One of the basic causes of this situation, according to those who made statements, is the poor state of instruction in the primary grades.

One of the chief reserves for increasing the effectiveness of the instructional and educational process, they said, must be the most complete, most efficient use of the school lesson.

A matter that was discussed with a large amount of concern was the state of affairs with regard to the study of Russian by the school children of the local nationality. No proper work has been done in the republic to develop the organizing of mixed schools in rural localities, with instruction given in Russian and the native language; insufficiently energetic steps are being taken to use the opportunities provided by nonclassroom work in the subject; and the network of clubs and elective subjects is expanding slowly.

It was also emphasized that the pedagogical collectives at many schools and PTU [vocational-technical schools] underestimate the role played by the study of mathematics and the natural-sciences disciplines. Therein lies one of the reasons for the reduction among young people of the prestige attached to engineer labor. It has become critically important to locate opportunities for opening up in our republic a special school specializing in physics and mathematics.

The participants at the aktiv meeting seriously criticized the practice of removing schoolchildren and students at higher educational institutions for prolonged periods of time from the instructional process in order to engage in

springtime and autumn agricultural operations, as well as criticizing those managers who, instead of rendering assistance to the school system in carrying out the reform, attempt to shift the burden of rural labor onto the shoulders of schoolchildren.

Speakers expressed their concern about the small amount of work being done by the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations. Not infrequently their work reveals the extinguishing of the spark of independence, initiative, and creativity, and most of the schoolchildren manifest passivity in social life.

The school and PTU pedagogical collectives and the public, those who spoke emphasized with special alarm, have not taken the necessary steps to intensify anti-alcohol education among the young people. The administrators at TuSSR Gosprofobr [State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education] have been doing very little to prevent or stop violations of the law by adolescents, and for the most part have only been recording the shortcomings, rather than analyzing them or taking the appropriate steps. The party committee and the primary party organizations at educational institutions have not yet rallied the student collectives or the Komsomol organizations to join the fight against antisocial phenomena.

In questions of educational work with children and with young students, it is very important to coordinate the actions and to assure the unity of the demands that are made on the students by the family, the school, the public, and the labor collectives.

The trade-union and Komsomol organizations and the cultural-educational, municipal-housing, and sports institutions do not always construct the work of re-educating the able-bodied adolescents in a purposeful manner. No close contacts have been established between the party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations at the general educational schools and PTU, on the one hand, and the base enterprises, on the other. The republic has not yet developed properly the system of mentor assistance provided by advanced production workers and labor and war veterans, and the establishment of close ties between the students and the enterprise Komsomol and young workers is only at the initial stage.

Criticism was directed at the Turkmen Komsomol Central Committee, which has not yet achieved a situation in which all the questions of school life -- training, education, and the behavior of the young students -- constitute the living fabric of everyday Komsomol work.

The sports organizations of DOSAAF are doing little to help the school, and the technical types of sports, and those with military application, are not receiving their proper development. The improvement of military-patriotic education requires special attention.

Other questions that are vitally important today are those dealing with family education. What is needed here is a substantial reorganization of the work with the parents, and the intensification of social assistance in the education of children. However, neither the Minpros [Ministry of Education] agencies, nor Gosprofobr, nor the TuSSR Znaniye Society have created a system

of pedagogical education that would encompass all the parents and that would have a program planned for the entire period from birth until graduation from a secondary educational institution.

The participants at the meeting remarked that a large number of unresolved questions exist in the labor training and education of the young students.

The party and Soviet agencies in the outlying areas and the base enterprises have not been devoting the proper attention to developing the material-technical base of labor instruction.

The productive labor of schoolchildren in the agro-industrial complex has also not been organized at the proper level.

Dwelling upon certain problems in the reform of the vocational-technical school system, which is the basic source for the planned training of qualified workers, those who spoke at the meeting emphasized that during recent years certain desirable changes have occurred in the system of vocational-technical education. There was a certain reinforcement of the material-technical base at the PTU. The practice of annually sending more than a thousand young men and women for training to vocational-technical schools in the RSFSR has become a considerable step. At the same time it was noted that everything is not yet satisfactorily resolved in the vocational-technical educational system. There is an alarming situation with the job placement and assignment of PTU students in production. For various reasons, 31 percent of PTU graduates do not arrive at the places where they have been assigned. The situation is especially unsatisfactory with the job placement for the PTU graduates on kolkhozes and sovkhoses, where approximately one-third are working in other than their area of specialization. Young Turkmen women who are PTU graduates are being assigned to production at an extremely poor rate. One of the reasons for this unsatisfactory situation is the poor organizing work performed by TuSSR Gosprofobr to achieve the fundamental improvement of the well-rounded instruction and education of the students, as well as the low level at which the PTU administrators monitor the job placement for their graduates. The party's obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms and the oblast, city, and rayon ispolkoms have been devoting little attention to this work.

The poor assignment rate is also explained by the fact that many graduates are dissatisfied with their occupation and have received poor vocational training. The immediate responsibility for this is borne by the ministries and departments and by the base enterprises.

Another problem that is of critical importance to the PTU today is the problem of achieving a fundamental improvement in the quality of the training of work cadres. There are gaps in the training of the national detachment of the working class. In the system of a number of ministries and departments in the republic, the share of workers with the indigenous nationality is still very small.

Those who spoke at the meeting remarked that one of the important peculiarities of the forthcoming school year is the broader changeover to the instruction of children starting at the age of six years. However, the

situation in this matter causes serious concern. In previous years TuSSR Minpros and the local Soviet agencies have demonstrated inadmissible hastiness and insufficient thinking in this matter. The instruction of six-year-old children was begun in places where the necessary conditions had not been created and where no special areas for instruction, rest, or games had been equipped. Medical examination of these children is not being carried out everywhere. Nor have all the questions involved in the organizing of their nutrition been resolved.

Six-year-old children, the speakers emphasized, must be taught only where all the proper conditions for that purpose have been created, regardless of whether we are talking about a school or a kindergarten. In creating the conditions it is necessary to display persistence and to raise these questions as questions of first-priority importance to the country.

The speakers remarked that it is necessary to enrich the instructional process with more effective, progressive methods of instruction, and to equip the school labs with modern equipment that would make it possible to introduce into the instructional process the disciplines dealing with the principles of information science. In this regard they emphasized the need to organize computer training for all the teachers.

It was noted at the meeting that in the resolving of all the problems of public education a very important place is given to the work with pedagogical cadres. At the same time, a considerable number of teachers in the republic's general educational schools and PTU do not have a complete mastery of the ideas in the reform itself and are unaware of the extent to which today's school system is lagging behind the requirements of the time.

A matter of serious concern is the indifferent attitude that a number of teachers take toward the search for advanced, intensive methods of instruction. Especially alarming is the fact that in the rural localities the interests of many teachers focus primarily on their personal plot, and the teachers remain aloof from club activities, from social-political life, from the problems of modern literature, poetry, art, and politics, and frequently from the requirements of raising their own narrowly professional level. The teachers also include some who, because of their insufficient knowledge, their work attitude, and, yes, even in a number of instances, their moral properties, cannot work in the school system.

TuSSR Minpros, Gosprofobr, and their agencies in the outlying areas are not paying the proper attention to questions of staffing the general educational schools and PTU, and there has been no interaction in matters of training and assigning teacher cadres. TuSSR Minpros and Minvuz [Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education] have been making a large number of miscalculations in the planning and assignment of pedagogical cadres.

The training of teacher cadres requires serious improvement. It will be necessary for the public education agencies and the school collectives to improve the work of accepting for admission to institutions of higher pedagogical education those senior-class students who demonstrate a vocation for or inclination toward working with children. This work must be reinforced

by measures to improve teacher-training quality which must be undertaken by TuSSR Minvuz. It was emphasized that the republic's higher educational institutions that are training poor teacher cadres are those dealing with mathematics, physics, the Russian language and literature, and chemistry. One of the reasons for this is the slow reorganization of the style and methods used by the workers at all levels of education and vocational-technical training. In the activity of the central republic-level and local agencies in public education one can see evidence of stagnation and bureaucratic methods. They have been providing little assistance to the pedagogical collectives. Slow actions are being taken to eradicate from the life of general educational and vocational-technical schools the formalistic approach, the emphasis on percentages which in individual instances goes as far as direct fraud. These undesirable situations manifest themselves with particular acuity in the nighttime and correspondence schools for young workers.

The speakers emphasized the need to increase the effectiveness of the system of methodological work and the continuous professional growth of the pedagogical cadres. In this regard they mentioned the role that is assigned in this matter to the Republic Institute of Teacher Refresher Training. The speakers said that the republic's Council of Ministers, Gosplan, and Minpros must take all steps urgently to resolve the questions of reinforcing the material-technical base of the oblast institutes and the republic institute for teacher refresher training. They mentioned serious shortcomings in the selection and assignment of cadres in those institutions.

They spoke with alarm about the fact that workers at Minpros and Gosprofobr and the public education departments sometimes carry out a shallow analysis, without the proper professionalism, of the state of affairs in the outlying areas, or the work of the educational institutions. The preference continues to be given to voluminous graduation statements, in which everything is drowned in general judgments and petty details, but no consideration is given to the basic questions -- the student's level of knowledge and education, or their preparation for social and labor activity. The work of the public education and vocational-technical education agencies has been overloaded by the quantity of questions to be considered, to the detriment of the quality and the monitoring of the execution of decisions.

The speakers especially emphasized the importance of initiatory construction and the need to involve the kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and industrial enterprises in it. The chief role in organizing this work must be played by the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies. More persistence in these questions must be demonstrated by the public education agencies.

This requirement is especially important today, when the general educational school and the PTU are on the threshold of the new school year. Therefore one simply cannot tolerate the serious shortcomings that are continuing to occur in carrying out the current and capital repair of the structures in the educational and vocational-technical training system.

Criticism was leveled at the management of TuSSR Gossnab and its agencies in the outlying areas, which have not been providing the school system promptly with the necessary materials.

The speakers also criticized TuSSR Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade], which, over the period of many years, has been unable to resolve the problem of publishing textbooks in the quantity that the schools need.

The speakers emphasized that the work level of many party agencies in managing public education continues to be low. The party organizations at the general educational schools and PTU have a small role in resolving the vitally important tasks of the instructional and educational process and the political-educational work with the cadres. The aktiv participants recommended reviving the old tradition whereby the party committee first secretaries and ispolkom chairmen engaged earnestly in questions of the school system and the education of the upcoming generation on a rayon or city scale. It was noted that the TuCP Central Committee's departments of science and educational institutions have been doing extremely little work to manage the school reform.

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CSO: 1830/50

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

LOCAL GEORGIAN PAPER SCOLDED FOR 'SUPERFICIALITY,' 'IRRELEVANCE'

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Tengiz Aleksandriya: "The Behest of the Times"]

[Text] At the CPSU Central Committee June (1986) Plenum it was especially underscored that the newspaper is the face of the party committee and reflects the style and methods of its work, the level of leadership and its attitude toward all topical issues. If the party committee is restructured so too is the press.

The review of the Bogdanovskiy rayon newspaper ARSHALUYS (ZARYA) published below was compiled by analysis of the editions of the newspaper published since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. It also contains a certain review of questions concerning the contribution made by the local newspaper to the process of restructuring, extending the openness and enhancing the effectiveness of publications.

Analysis of issues of the Bogdanovskiy rayon newspaper indicates that the collective in the editorial office is focusing its attention on questions concerning the socioeconomic development of the region, trying to mobilize the workers to resolve the tasks that have been set for them, and leading a discussion on problems of concern to readers.

The leading theme of ARSHALUYS is implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and CPSU Central Committee April (1985) and June (1986) plenums. In the materials a trend can be observed toward promoting activation of the human factor, and attempts are made to analyze ways to effect psychological restructuring of the workers in the rayon and their thinking, and the style of work in the primary party organization.

The landmarks for the editorial office can be seen in the rubrics: "Implementing the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress," "Restructuring Is Underway," "Acceleration--the Work Motto," "Party Life: on the Paths of Restructuring," "Life of the Soviets," "Propagandist's Forum," "Our New Construction Sites"... The newspaper essentially does not lose sight of the

urgent problems facing the party organization. The newspaper is constantly publishing articles about the work of the primary party organizations together with signed materials. The fine thought behind the rubric "Sketches of Communists," an interesting and in many ways riveting rubric, should be combined with attention to tasks both current and long-term. Among the most successful of these have been the pieces about the vehicle operator M. Aroyan from the village of Geshti, G. Bagdasaryan from the village of Manzare, kolkhoz cashier G. Pogosyan from the village of M. Khangala, and others. Unfortunately, most of the sketches have been of an informational nature, overloaded with numerous figures and lists of measures implemented. In handling this theme the authors have still to find its proper tone and the ability to discuss problems in a confident manner with the people whose biographies, thoughts and actions are clarified against the background of the times and their connection with issues of local life.

The role of the rayon newspaper in implementing the Food Program and improving farming standards and efficiency in livestock farming is extremely great. Among the positive materials on this range of subjects the following attract attention: "At the Call of One's Native Land" and "Son of the Land"; and critical articles by the chairman of the rayon agro-industrial association and a female leading worker entitled "Your Duty, Potato Grower" and "Sowing Work--the Main Concern of the Day." However, in these and in many other such pieces in the newspaper there is mainly only a bald statement of errors and shortcomings while no ways are suggested for correcting them.

Certain positive trends in the work of the newspaper are obvious. Notwithstanding, something else is also clear: there are still many serious shortcomings and omissions in the ideological support for resolving the key socioeconomic tasks facing the rayon. How are these expressed? At first glance one gets the impression that basic thematic lines are being followed in the newspaper. And this is quite obvious. As a rule, however, the overwhelming majority of published pieces are superficial and they contain no problems or discussion about leading experience in work, and are still poor in the matter of throwing light on the human factor. Despite the fact that the articles, correspondents' pieces, sketches and descriptions always concern a specific person and give him the respect he deserves and list his fine deeds, the newsmen still do not succeed in revealing the individuality of an interesting human personality against the background of specific circumstances and they blend the conventional stereotypes in which everything has to be said correctly--the labor indicators are mentioned, the social assignments listed, and even the family situation is not ignored--while people, meanwhile, remain aggrieved with each other.

As you turn the pages of the newspaper you notice that there is an increasing amount of material under the rubrics "Acceleration," "Restructuring Is Taking Place" and so forth. However, most of these pieces are artificially linked to the actual rubrics. Instead of showing the essence of the restructuring that is now taking place everywhere the journalists restrict themselves to merely stating earlier traditional work in high-sounding terms, and they fail to seek out new forms and methods in the organizational, political and economic activities of the party organizations, the development of intraparty democracy, and practical implementation of the principles of collectivity,

leadership, openness and so forth; and finally, they have quite forgotten the need for restructuring at every work place and in every labor collective.

Let us illustrate this with examples.

In the issue of 24 May 1986 an article was carried under the rubric "Party Life: What Is Hampering Restructuring?" entitled "The Cadres Must Be the Support." At the start of the article the author has more or less the right tone, speaking about unresolved problems in the party organization at the kolkhoz imeni XVI partsyeyzda in the village of Zhdanovka. It seemed that the journalist was analyzing the reasons for shortcomings. Later, however, there was just a solid list of things, with no analysis and without any recommendations or conclusions.

Under the rubric "Acceleration" the issue of 26 June 1986 carried material under the heading "We Shall Act Decisively." The author reported on earlier successes at the meat and dairy sovkhos in Gandza village, and without furnishing any proofs offered the assurance that the indicators would be substantially improved in the future. But how? Through what means? Using what methods? The material contains not one single word about this.

And another example. In the edition of 14 June 1986 under the rubric "Implementing the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress! Acceleration Is the Work Motto" information was carried that had nothing to do either with restructuring or with acceleration.

The newspaper rarely publishes material dealing with how the rayon's party organizations and labor collectives are solving problems connected with improving the economic mechanism and management. How is the introduction of cost accounting proceeding in the rayon? How is labor and production discipline being strengthened? Unfortunately, the newspaper answers these questions only superficially, not in depth.

Neither is its interest very great in the social sphere--trade, everyday and municipal services, questions of medical and cultural services for the public. It must also be said that this important subject is dealt with only schematically and in a stereotype manner. The published pieces avoid the "sharp corners" and fail to conduct a candid conversation with the reader. Meanwhile, these questions should be the focus of attention at the editorial office because they directly affect the individual and his life and labor.

Take, for example, the columns published from time to time in the newspaper dealing with the labor successes of construction workers on the Marabda-Akhalkalaki railroad line. Strange as it may seem, even these special issues do not contain materials on how the construction workers' everyday life is arranged.

It is an indisputable fact that no amount of published pieces and topical rubrics and headings can replace the essential thing and meaningful conversation with the reader--exerting an influence on the moral and ethical climate in the collectives. Sometimes, unfortunately, local journalists forget this. And also what beneficial soil this provides for our Soviet way

of life. Its features are there for all to see in the rayon, where the old boundary markers on the outskirts of the village have disappeared, where the number of tractors moving across the kolkhoz fields is constantly growing, where the peasants' incomes have grown. And what about the rural schools, hospitals and creches, the trade turnover in the villages stores, and the antennas of the television sets? But does the editorial office show how all this has been perceived in the consciousness of the people and reflected in personal destinies? No. This rubric is not seen in the newspaper and the rare pieces that are published are skimpy and schematic.

One wonders how the newspaper can pass over in silence the calamity that swept over the rayon in May of this year when an earthquake destroyed many houses and public buildings. The entire republic offered help at that time. The republic newspapers wrote about it and radio and television programs covered the event, but the local journalists essentially ignored the subject and failed to reveal the selflessness and internationalism of the Soviet person.

And here is another circumstance that must be remarked: unfortunately, the articles written by some of the leading workers in the rayon are distinguished by lack of specificity and vagueness, and sometimes even complacency.

As an example we cite material prepared by N. Marabyan, chairman of a Georgian Communist Party raykom party committee, carried in the 16 May 1986 issue under the title "To Indoctrinate Every Communist and Hold Him to Strict Account." Similar shortcomings also characterized the articles "Organization Has Been Strengthened and Combativeness Enhanced" and "In an Atmosphere of High Exactingness" (carried in the 16 November 1985 and 13 August 1985 issues and written by K. Gigolov, deputy chief of a Georgian Communist Party raykom organizational party work department). Both articles are strewn with phrases such as "... we encounter many instances of individual communists not serving as an example..." "... unfortunately there have been isolated cases in the past..." and "... there are individual labor collectives in the rayon..."

An article by L. Kazaryan, a Georgian Communist Party raykom secretary, entitled "Shaping a Communist World Outlook," carried the 18 July 1985 issue, was superficial and divorced from local life. And a thorough conversation built on specific examples, and a serious examination of this problem through the prism of today's requirements would have helped the primary party organizations in the rayon to improve the practical results of their work.

As is known, the effectiveness of a newspaper depends on the topicality of the questions that it raises, and on how competently and skillfully they are discussed. And it is very annoying when pedestrian [syroy--probably misprint for "seryy"--ed] and superficial material is carried on its pages.

The position of the editorial office should be always clear--a principled and implacable attitude toward shortcomings should be at the forefront. During 1985 ARSHALUYS carried 46 pieces in which 60 organizations were criticized. Of the 48 replies received, 43 were carried in the newspaper while 12 organizations totally ignored the criticism. This year, 69 critical pieces have been published, addressed to 100 organizations. Of 43 responses, 35 have been published in the newspaper while 26 have evoked no response.

At the same time it must be emphasized that the questions raised in the newspaper are unfortunately somewhat restricted in range. The editorial office tries to pass over in silence subjects such as critical analysis of the activity of given organizations, the moral climate in the labor collectives, and the relationships between the leaders of organizations and the collectives. It is only occasionally that serious, publicist, analytical journalistic statements are made.

It should be noted in general that the editorial office has sometimes failed to express its own position on and its own attitude toward given facts, and it is diffident in drawing conclusions. It is not therefore surprising that the newspaper sometimes carries material in which reality is shown "in a rosy light."

For example, the articles "Horizons of Rural Construction" and "The Scientific and Technical Revolution: the Call of the Times" by V. Ispiryan, chief of the rayon agro-industrial association's [RAPO] capital construction department, and L. Kuyumchyan, chief of the RAPO plant growing department, carried in the 25 May 1985 and 13 August 1985 issues. The article "Accounts and Accountability" by G. Dzhasgatspanyan, inspector in the rayon state statistical administration, carried in the 8 February 1986 issue, was unable to raise the level of its criticism higher than farm bookkeepers.

The conclusion is obvious: the newspaper editorial office is avoiding many of the serious problems facing the rayon and is not fighting actively enough to improve the effectiveness of its critical statements. This is confirmed even more by the fact that during the period under review one can count literally on the fingers of one hand the number of serious critical materials directed at the leaders of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, enterprises and other services in the rayon. The impression is created that they are working actively and with initiative, and that there is no leader who might have an irresponsible attitude toward his duties or is a poor manager, no instance of formalism or bureaucracy; that all of them have organized their work easily and painlessly in the light of the latest party demands.

The party, however, is demanding restructuring at every work place, in every labor collective, and that inertia, parasitism and complacency be decisively overcome, the principle of collective leadership be applied at all levels, and broad openness be implemented and businesslike criticism and self-criticism, control and a responsible attitude toward assignments be developed.

It is precisely this kind of creative approach and the spirit of innovation and intolerance of inactiveness and stagnation that the reader does not see on the pages of his newspaper. And all this, of course, is reflected in its authority.

It is even more surprising when the newspaper publishes accounts of various measures in which criticism and self-criticism are absent.

Thus, on 7 June 1986 under a heading "Radical Restructuring is Essential" the newspaper published an account of a meeting of the representatives of the

rayon Potreboyuz. However, it contained not a single word about restructuring, criticism was general in nature, and the names of those responsible for particular shortcomings were not given.

Or take another example. On 10 June 1986 under the rubric "Party Life: on the Path of Restructuring" an account was carried of a seminar of secretaries of primary party organizations conducted by the party raykom, at which results were discussed from a check on the activities of the rayon primary party organizations and the tasks in restructuring their work. And here there was not one single specific fact, not one name, and again the empty phrases: "...some party organizations have still not succeeded in restructuring party work...", "...individual secretaries in the party buro have been aloof...", "...there have been cases...", "...some party organizations are still displaying passiveness...", "...those speaking named the organizations where these shortcomings are...", and so forth. This is nothing but a desire "not to wash dirty linen in public" and ignore the party demand on increasing openness.

The accounts of a session of the rayon soviet of people's deputies (4 January 1986) and, what is absolutely extraordinary, of the Georgian Communist Party raykom plenum that discussed the question of work with cadres (25 April 1985) and a meeting of the rayon party aktiv on the question of dealing with drunkenness and alcoholism (13 June 1985) were characterized by similar shortcomings.

As a rule this kind of halfhearted openness exerts an adverse effect on the effectiveness of the newspaper's statements.

As they say, one bad apple infects all the apples. The formal approach can also be traced in the statements by the rayon's Komsomol leaders carried in the newspaper.

In particular, the articles by Georgian Komsomol raykom secretary F. Madoyan "Today Better than Yesterday" (21 May 1985) and "What the Accountability Reports and Elections Showed" (3 June 1986), in which there is virtually no criticism and urgent youth problems are not raised, are significant in this respect.

Very similar to them were the article by Georgian Komsomol rayon first secretary V. Ananikyan "On the Agenda: Exactingness" (27 August 1985), which was distinguished by its edifying [nazidatelnyy] and vague tone ("...for some Komsomol organizations...", "...some primary Komsomol organizations..."); and a report on a plenum by the Georgian Komsomol rayon first secretary, carried in the newspaper on 26 March 1986 (about joint work done by the Komsomol organizations and the law enforcement organs in the rayons to prevent crime among juveniles and young people), in which the following words hardly ring out as the most serious of accusations: "...some schools fail to respond to our requests to supply us with lists of difficult children..." Is this not the mere creation of paperwork and lack of knowledge about local affairs?!

Which of these materials will the reader accept, which will he take to heart? The editorial office and, indeed, even the party raykom do not think of this.

And finally, another matter. Despite repeated recommendations and instructions, the newspaper continues to publish information that has nothing to do with local life. Just look at these: "Today and Tomorrow on the Panama Canal," "The Elections in Bangladesh," "Platan's 1,600th Anniversary" [Platanu 1.600 let], "Formulas for Nuclear Power Stations," "Haiti, the Philippines... Who's Next?" "A Miracle Tree in Sochi" and many others. There is no need at all for such materials, the more so since the newspaper should make every line count.

And in conclusion, the question of party leadership over the newspaper. Here, serious shortcomings are quite obvious, resulting primarily from the lack of any system. The individual resolutions passed by the Bogdanovskiy party raykom are superficial in nature, do not contain any proper analysis of the activity of the press organ, and fail to define ways to restructure its work; elements of satisfaction with what has been achieved and an insufficiently competent approach to and knowledge of the tasks of the local mass media can be traced in them. Meetings of the party raykom buro do not consider questions of responding to statements made by the press organ and it is not the practice to support individual pieces published, and this in turn exerts an adverse effect on the authority of the newspaper and reduces its combativeness.

The party committee must inform press workers on an immediate basis about urgent problems, and each year, and, if required, with reference to individual facts, consider in the buro questions concerning the response to critical statements in the newspaper, enhance in every possible way the personal responsibility for this on the part of the appropriate chiefs, and offer a principled evaluation of any attempts to put pressure on critics. It must provide clear-cut guidelines for the editorial collective on specific problems concerning ideological support for the resolution of key tasks in the region's socioeconomic and cultural development and for broad openness about the course of restructuring.

Analysis indicates that the serious shortcomings and omissions in the work of the Bogdanovskiy rayon newspaper ARSHALUYS (ZARYA) are, unfortunately, typical to one degree or another of many organs of the rayon and city party committees. Everyone must draw their conclusions. The power of the press lies in correct party leadership.

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CSO: 1830/53

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

GEORGIAN SUBSCRIPTIONS 'VOLUNTARY'; PUBLISHERS SEEK SUBSCRIBERS

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Aug 86 p 4

[Interview with Georgiy Davidovich Tavamayshvili, chief of the Press Subscription Department in the Georgian SSR Ministry of Communications, by unnamed GRUZINFORM correspondent: "Finding Their Own Readers"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "Man cannot live by bread alone"; so says the proverb. And of course, without spiritual food the Soviet person cannot live through the day. It is not happenstance that along with the bread the mail is a most urgent freight, rushed to the readers early in the morning. But how among the tens of thousands of publications with a total circulation of more than 400 million is it possible to find exactly what interests you, and make a correct choice?

This is the question that a GRUZINFORM correspondent asked Georgiy Davidovich Tavamayshvili, chief of the Press Subscription Department in the Georgian SSR Ministry of Communications.

[Answer] This is now precisely the "linchpin" of our work. The subscription campaign is a matter of great state importance. The task for our subscription agencies and departments is to help the reader not only decide in good time what he wants but also to set up the subscription. To this end 14,400 public delivery agents have started preparations in good time for the campaign.

[Question] What, in your opinion, are the special features of the campaign for subscriptions in 1987?

[Answer] The present subscription, the first since the 27th CPSU Congress, is taking place in an atmosphere of particularly high political activeness among the masses. Almost all families that have already entered their subscriptions have ordered the central newspapers PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Many have taken out subscriptions for the party publications KOMMUNIST, PARTIYNOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, AGITATOR, PARTIYNOYE SLOVO and KOMMUNIST GRUZII, which deal with the style and methods of work, the

restructuring taking place in all sectors of the national economy, ways to accelerate and introduce scientific and technical progress, and experience gained in the primary party organizations. All this testifies to Soviet people's profound interest in party policy and their unanimous support for measures taken, since they are all aimed at the well-being of Soviet people.

The specific feature of the present campaign is that we are not waiting for the subscriptions but are ourselves going out looking for them. Thus, subscription offices have been opened at the largest associations and enterprises--the Tbilisi Aviation Plant imeni Dimitrov, the Elektrovozostroytel, Elektroapparat and Elva production associations, and the Analitpribor Scientific Production Association.

Here we are not forgetting that the basic principle of subscription is its voluntary nature. However, we are trying to make the subscriptions in such a way that they are closest to the interests of the individual and able to enrich his professional knowledge. Thus, at the industrial enterprises we are trying to promote journals on economics, new equipment and technology and the better organization of socialist competition. We naturally recommend that kolkhoz farmers and sovkhoz workers take newspapers and journals dealing with agriculture and the agro-industrial complex. The bulletin ARGUMENTY I FAKTY is needed primarily by lecturers, propaganda workers and political information workers, while the journal STUDENCHESKIY MERDIAN is for young people at VUZ's. To sum up, we use a differentiated approach to the reader.

[Question] The work that is done by the Main Administration for the Distribution of Publications [Soyuzpechat] is impossible to imagine without daily help by the local party and soviet organs. How are the contacts established?

[Answer] The contacts are very close and fruitful. Did you know that Georgia is one of the republics where most reading is done? Here, the indicator for periodicals per 1,000 inhabitants is higher than the all-union average. The average family subscription is 5.2 publications yearly. Taking this into account, without the local party organizations the workers in our agencies cannot know the structure of a rayon or the specific features of the enterprises or institutions located there or the requests or desires of the labor collectives.

[Question] In recent years the number of publications whose circulation was limited has been significantly reduced. What is the position this year?

[Answer] Our task is to make subscriptions to all periodicals unlimited. As in previous years unrestricted subscription has been offered for popular publications such as LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, ZDOROVYE, RABOTNITSA, ZA ENTIFIC NOVYY MIR and CHELOVEK I ZAKON. For the first time restrictions have been lifted on publications such as NAUKA I ZHIZN, YUNOST, TEKHNICA MOLODEZHI and RADIO. However, some circulation restrictions are being retained on a number of literary and artistic journals. Taking this into account, we still have to deal with the difficulties concerned with the printing base, paper and so forth. Soyuzpechat workers must take care that limited publications go

primarily to the labor collectives rather than having most of them in personal libraries.

In addition, we see one solution in the collective subscription. Many are now taking advantage of this, particularly among the population of the old regions of Tbilisi where the people in the large houses live together as a single family. I would like the inhabitants of the new developments to follow this example. There is also another solution, namely, annual subscriptions. For example, students and schoolchildren leave gaps in their subscriptions for summer vacation, while engineers, physicians and others cancel their subscriptions when they are away on long business trips.

In Tbilisi a store has opened on Tsereteli Prospect to sell secondhand journals. The owner sells them at 70 percent of their cost. This method has also been extensively used in the Baltic region. Unfortunately, here readers have not shown much interest.

[Question] What new publications are available to readers this year?

[Answer] In 1987 the "Pravda" Publishing House will be publishing a four-volume anthology of military-patriotic prose under the general title "Stranitsy podviga." It will include works by the eminent Soviet writers M. Sholokhov, A. Tolstoy, K. Simonov, Yu. Bondarev and others. The journal OGONEK will be offering its readers supplements containing works by Lev Tolstoy, Serafimovich, Makarenko and Fadeyev.

Department subscription will end 31 August and individual subscriptions 1 November.

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CSO: 1830/53

CULTURE

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, DEFICIENCIES OF CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS

Moscow PLANOVYE KHOZYAYSTVO in Russian No 7, Jul 86 pp 91-97

[Article by V. Zinin, deputy department chief of the USSR State Planning Committee and candidate of economic sciences; and L. Zaytseva, group leader of the Giproteatr Institute and Candidate of Economic Sciences: "Reserves of the Economic Complex of Culture and the Mass Information Media"]

[Text] The goal and the tasks of activity of all enterprises and establishments of culture and mass information media are uniform. This requires a comprehensive approach toward planning their development and drawing up a unified plan of cultural construction.

The value of all monies received as a result of the production and sale of cultural and informational goods, and rendering paid services of culture to the population, is approximately equal to the state's investments for the financial support and development of the complex of culture and mass information media. This makes it possible to restructure the interrelationship between the state budget and sectors of this complex.

The further development of culture requires improving the training of cadres and perfecting payment for the labor of workers.

The qualitative transformation of all aspects of life of society planned in the new edition of the CPSU Program requires a search for new means of developing the creative activity of the masses in all spheres of social life. The resolution of this task is connected with implementing deep changes in the material and spiritual conditions of people's lives, with conscientious acceleration and intensification of the processes of spiritual development, and strengthening their interconnection with scientific-technical and social-economic progress. Under these conditions, determining the basic trends of social and cultural development of society, goal-oriented planning of cultural construction, and comprehensive scientific substantiation of it acquire particular significance.

Establishments, enterprises, and organizations of the sectors of culture and the mass information media have various sectorial and departmental subordinations (the USSR Ministry of Culture, USSR State Committee for Cinematography,

USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, ministries and departments of the USSR and the union republics, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, creative unions, other social organizations, kolkhozes, and so forth). Some of them enter into the sphere of material production (polygraphy, the film-printing industry, the production of phonograph records, and other cultural goods), others into the sphere of circulation (trading in cultural goods and printed matter) and the sphere of nonmaterial production (cultural educational establishments, theatrical entertainment enterprises). There are cultural establishments which function on the principles of paid services to the public (cinematography, theatrical-entertainment enterprises), and free services (libraries, club establishments, and so forth).

They are also financed from various sources (through their own efforts, from the USSR State Budget, from the social and cultural development funds of enterprises, kolkhozes, social organizations, and so forth).

Nevertheless, the tasks and the goal of the activities of all these enterprises, establishments, and organizations are the same--to produce, maintain, distribute, and organize the consumption of benefits and services of a cultural and informational nature, and to satisfy as completely as possible the innumerable, constantly changing, growing needs which members of society have for them. This is why all sectors of culture and the mass information media, in determining the directions of their future development and evaluating the effectiveness of their work, must be regarded as an independent economic complex.

But at the present time, due to inadequate development of methods of comprehensive planning and administration of the sectors of culture and the mass information media, plans for developing them are frequently the sum of targets for individual sectors and subsectors, and not a unified integrated program aimed at achieving final social and economic results. The needs of establishments, enterprises, and organizations for material, labor, and financial resources are inadequately substantiated. There is no organizational-legal base for interdepartmental coordination of cultural and informational service to the public.

Planning for the sectors of culture and mass information media as a unified whole should be carried out taking into account the social and economic tasks which are facing society as a whole. In doing this, it is necessary to determine the role of this complex in the total system of social reproduction, especially based on analyzing the use of the resource potential created. Based on this, we must develop a system of plan balances for determining a generalized evaluation of the resources being directed toward its development, and substantiating its growth rates, structure, and intersectorial proportions.

Currently the Soviet Union has created a powerful material-technical base for culture and the mass information media. The country has over 133,000 public libraries, 137,000 club establishments, 104 circuses, 1,048 parks of culture and recreation, 1,810 museums, 628 theaters, 171 concert halls, over 151,000 movie projectors, of which 4,799 are in continuously operating movie theaters, 27 movie studios, 6,736 programming and relay television stations, 1,058 polygraphic enterprises, and dozens of other industrial enterprises producing goods of a cultural or informational nature.

From 1965 to 1984 the assets of the complex of culture and mass information media grew by a factor of more than 4.5, and the proportion of nonproductive capital, totaling 86.6 percent of all the fixed assets of this complex, rose from 1.4 to 2.4 percent in the total value of nonproductive capital in the national economy. A significant proportion (70 percent) of the fixed assets of the economic complex of culture and mass information media is buildings and constructions.

The effectiveness of activity of this complex at the present time depends to a great degree on the level of technical outfitting and equipment of the existing sites. Recently the party and government have passed a number of decrees which call for strengthening and developing the material-technical base for providing movie projectors and film services, television broadcasting, and radio broadcasting, re-outfitting and reconstructing the production base of movie studios, modernizing and constructing polygraphic enterprises, and adopting advanced technological processes in polygraphy. Foremost significance pertains to factors of intensifying, in particular centralization of the use of the existing material-technical base by cultural establishments regardless of their departmental subordination. Large establishments for cultural and informational service to the public which are fitted out with modern equipment can provide a greater number of services, and higher quality at the same level or even a reduced level of service personnel; therefore, we are currently creating library and club complexes, and expanding their use of mobile materials for serving the inhabitants of small rural population points, mountain regions, and other isolated regions (independent clubs [avtokluby], library buses, and mobile movie projectors).

The capital supply of enterprises, establishments, and organizations of culture and mass information media (the ratio of the volume of fixed assets to the number of establishments) is increasing constantly. In 1965 it amounted to 12,000 rubles per cultural-educational establishment, in 1975 it was 38,000 rubles, in 1980 54,000 rubles, and in 1984 64,000 rubles. Further increasing the capital supply is one of the most important prerequisites for improving the quality of service and conducting it in accordance with the requirements of scientific and technical progress, and should be implemented by changing the structure of capital investments for culture and mass information media, increasing the specific proportion of expenditures for equipment. But it is still necessary to develop by expanding outward as well--expanding the network of enterprises, establishments, and organizations of the complex, especially in the countryside and newly settled regions. There are still some rayon centers which have no house of culture. According to data of the USSR Central Statistical Administration for 1984, 45 percent of clubs are not adequately equipped. Every other rural population point is a distance of 5 kilometers or more from the nearest library, club, or movie projector, and 30 percent of club establishments are operating in poorly adapted buildings. One out of six club buildings is in need of capital repairs, and more than 3 percent are in a hazardous condition. In 270 cities and work settlements with a population higher than 10,000 individuals, there are no constantly operating movie theaters, 63 out of 150 philharmonic orchestras do not have their own concert halls, and only 32 percent of our cities have museums.¹

As was observed at the 27th CPSU Congress, many shortcomings in the development of establishments of culture and mass information media are connected with the leftover principle of allocating resources for the development of the social-cultural sphere.

The proportion of capital investments directed toward these goals in the 8th Five-Year Plan was 1.02 percent of the total volume of capital investments in the economy, in the 9th Five-Year Plan it was 0.92 percent, in the 10th 0.78 percent, and in the 11th 0.5 percent. The share of the non-productive part of the complex decreased in the total volume of the unproductive capital investment from 3.5 percent in the 8th Five-Year Plan to 1.5 percent in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

In order to improve cultural service to the public, the 12th Five-Year Plan calls for almost doubling the volume of state capital investments compared with the preceding five-year plan. Plans authorize the construction of movie theaters not only through the use of loans from the USSR Gosbank, but also through state capital investments. It is planned to put into operation more than 250 new movie theaters, 511 rayon houses of culture, and more than 5,000 clubs in rural locations. In doing this, an important task will be raising the effectiveness of use of capital investments and improving their distribution.

Establishments, enterprises and organizations of the economic complex of sectors of culture and the mass information media, as already noted, are financed from the state budget, and using the funds of ministries and departments, social and cooperative-kolkhoz organizations. From 1970 to 1984 the total expenditures on cultural-educational work and art almost doubled--from 3.7 billion to 7.2 billion rubles, and the proportion of expenditures from the state budget increased from 54 to 60 percent. But coordination of the work to distribute the funds allocated by various departments and organizations is still inadequate.

The presence of various sources of financing, and the differing volumes of these funds lead to an unequal distribution of enterprises, establishments, and organizations of culture and mass information media throughout the territory of the country, as well as an unjustified differentiation of the level of their technical outfitting. This is holding back expansion of the capacities to satisfy the public's needs for cultural benefits and services, making it impossible to make rational use of fixed assets, and leading to an increase in the total expenses to maintain establishments, enterprises, and organizations of culture.

In our view, it is necessary to examine the question of establishing an overall limit of financing the complex of cultural sectors and mass information media and granting organs of interdepartmental administration broad rights for redistributing the allocated resources in accordance with priorities established within the framework of the complex. In particular, in order to determine the volumes of capital investments in a scientifically well-founded fashion and increase the effectiveness of their use, it is necessary to develop a unified plan of cultural construction which ensures centralized use of the funds coming in from various sources.

At present, capital investments are accomplished to the extent of 70 percent through funds of the state budget.

In the total volume of capital investments, the proportion allocated for the mass information media--the press, television, and radio--is increasing. This is in accordance with the progressive trends of development of modern forms of introducing people to cultural values. But there is a reduction of the specific proportion of capital investments allocated for the development of other cultural sectors (Table 1).

Table 1--Structure of State, Social, and Cooperative-Kolkhoz Capital Investments for the Sectors of Culture and Mass Information Media, %

| | <u>1971- 1975</u> | <u>1976- 1980</u> | <u>1981- 1985</u> |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Capital investments--total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Including: | | | |
| In the polygraphic industry | 8.1 | 11.1 | 18.7 |
| In television and radio | 5.4 | 9.8 | 11.5 |
| In cinematography | 16.2 | 18.2 | 10.8 |
| In culture and art | 70.3 | 60.9 | 59.0 |
| Of these, investments to club establishments | 46.7 | 43.4 | 40.9 |

In our view, in order to eliminate this undesirable phenomenon, it is necessary to improve the forms of attracting funds from enterprises, ministries and departments, kolkhozes and social organizations to finance the development of cultural sectors. Much is already being done in this direction. For example, in accordance with the decree of 7 May 1985 titled "On Measures To Eliminate Drunkenness and Alcoholism and Eradicate Home Brewing," ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies have been authorized, in cooperation with the appropriate production associations, enterprises, organizations, and kolkhozes, and also trade union committees, to centralize monetary funds for the development of physical culture-health and cultural-mass projects called for in finance plans, above the established limits of state capital investments, in order to construct clubs and sports facilities.

Shifting from the departmental principle of distributing resources to a territorial and program-goal-oriented one will make it possible to improve the distribution of capital investments and ensure integrated planning of the development of sectors of culture and the mass information media.

In order to raise the effectiveness of using the allocated capital investments, it is necessary to plan them for increased volumes of paid and free services rendered to the public, and material goods produced. Introducing normatives of specific capital investments per unit of increased services or goods might substantially improve planning of the development of cultural sectors, since this would make it possible to take into account more fully territorial factors in putting together their projects, as well as the changed reproduction structure of capital investments, the degree to which the public is provided with cultural establishments, the rates and trends of development of consumption of cultural and informational goods and services, and also the effectiveness of functioning of the units of this economic complex.

Current support of state establishments of culture, art, and mass information media is financed through the state budget (Table 2). From 1965 to 1984 these expenditures were increased by a factor greater than 4.7. But the rate of growth of the allocations has slowed down considerably. In the 8th Five-Year Plan the growth rate totaled 78.5 percent, in the 9th it was 54.4 percent, in the 10th it was 45.1 percent, and in the 11th Five-Year Plan only 22.7 percent. As a result of this, the proportion of expenditures for culture and mass information media in the total volume of expenditures in the state budget has not substantially increased.

Table 2--Structure of Expenditures in the USSR State Budget for Culture and Mass Information Media (without capital investments)

| | Unit of Measurement | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1984 |
|--|------------------------|-------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Culture and mass information media | Millions of rubles | 813.0 | 1,451.5 | 2,241.8 | 3,252.9 | 3,846.0 |
| Total | % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Including: | | | | | | |
| Cultural-educational work | Millions of rubles | 423.3 | 703.5 | 982.2 | 1,460.9 | 1,638.0 |
| | % | 52.0 | 48.5 | 43.8 | 44.9 | 42.6 |
| The press | Millions of rubles | 85.0 | 120.0 | 143.2 | 169.0 | 185.0 |
| | % | 10.5 | 8.3 | 6.4 | 5.2 | 4.8 |
| Art, television, radio | Millions of rubles | 304.7 | 628.0 | 1,116.4 | 1,623.0 | 2,033.0 |
| | % | 37.5 | 43.2 | 49.8 | 49.9 | 52.6 |
| Among the above, theaters | Millions of rubles | 39.3 | 65.5 | 88.2 | 119.6 | 142.9 |
| | % | 4.8 | 4.5 | 3.9 | 3.6 | 3.7 |
| Expenditures per capita of the population | Rubles | 3.5 | 5.9 | 8.8 | 12.2 | 13.9 |
| Proportion in the total volume of expenditures in the state budget | % | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.0 |

Expanding the volumes of free and subsidized forms of services provided by establishments of culture and the mass information media is a very important condition for reducing differentiation in the consumption of spiritual benefits by various groups of the population. The development of these services, naturally, requires increased material resources. But this does not mean obligatory increase of state subsidies. In our view, it would make more sense to reduce the taxes levied on establishments of the complex, in order for the development of the services to be accomplished using funds obtained as a result of their own activities.

In substantiating the complex's needs for financial resources, it is necessary to take into account the profits coming into the state budget as a result of the activity of television and radio broadcasting, cinematography, the press, establishments of culture and art, and industrial enterprises. The operation of the system of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting is ensured by the production of radio and television sets and the development of the corresponding communications system. At the same time, the activities of these sectors of material production, whose goal is to provide for the consumption of television and radio services, in and of themselves, without the organization of broadcasting, lose all meaning, and therefore it is necessary to take broadcasting into account in evaluating the total economic effectiveness of television and radio broadcasting.

The significant growth in quantitative and qualitative parameters of the system of television and radio broadcasting, the introduction of color television broadcasting, and the expansion volume of broadcasts and improvement of program quality are causing a substantial increase in expenditures for the organization of broadcasting. At the same time, the proportion of payments for renting technical devices in the USSR Ministry of Communication is increasing greatly--currently it totals approximately 70 percent of the total cost of expenditures for television and radio broadcasting in the USSR State Budget.

Funds coming into the state budget as a result of the activities of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting are being formed through increases to retail prices for radio sets (15 percent) and televisions (20 percent), and the monthly rental fee from the public for using relay radio outlets (50 kopecks) and a collective antenna (15 kopecks). In addition, the state budget receives deductions taken from the profits of industrial enterprises manufacturing television and radio goods, a tax on their turnover. All of these payments make up for approximately 90 percent of the expenditures for television and radio broadcasting.

The main source of income from cinematography is the gross yield from ticket sales at movie showings. Approximately half of these funds (45 percent) are transferred into the state budget in the form of a tax on shows. Up until the end of the 1960's, there was still a sufficient sum at the disposal of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography to cover expenditures on the production, distribution, storage, and showing of films. But because of the increased expenditures connected with the introduction of more expensive equipment, increased wages for workers in cinematography, the reduced proportion of mobile movie projectors, and, simultaneously, due to reduced gross yields, it became necessary to obtain an additional subsidy from the state budget; its amount was approximately equal to the total of tax payments coming into the budget.

Thus, the tax on shows levied on state projecting machines later returns into the system of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography in the form of a subsidy. In connection with this, it seems worthwhile to abolish this tax, especially for state projecting machines, and restructure accordingly the interrelationship between the USSR State Committee on Cinematography and the state budget.

In our view, some changes are also required in the prices and tariffs established in 1954 for the services of cinematography. It is also necessary to improve the availability of comfortable, constantly operating movie theaters to the urban population and to provide movie services to the inhabitants of small population points in rural locations by increasing mobile movie projectors. Currently, the constantly operating movie theaters, the proportion of which in the total quantity of movie projectors is equal to 3.2 percent, are providing 63 percent of the gross yield from movie showings.

Press establishments of the system of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade (publishing houses, polygraphic enterprises, and so forth) are operating on the principles of cost-accounting. In a number of union republics publishing activity is operating at planned losses. The reason for this is the production of a number of small-circulation publications, and also textbooks, for which low prices are set. The planned losses are covered through profits received in these republics from other types of activities, or subsidies from the state budget. The state budget also makes up the difference between the expenses and the income of rayon newspapers. But as a whole, the publishing activities of the system of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade is profitable, and the average level of profitability (the ratio of balance profit to the prime cost) is 54.4 percent, including 85.5 percent for publishing houses of union subordination.

In accordance with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on 12 July 1985 titled "On the Wide Distribution of New Economic Methods and Increasing Their Influence on Accelerating Scientific and Technical Progress," in order to raise the effectiveness of production and the quality of goods produced, and to improve the results of work of labor collectives, beginning on 1 January 1986 all production associations and enterprises of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade (of union subordination) and the Belorussian State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade switched over to the new conditions of business management.

Besides the production of printed material, the industrial activity of the economic complex of culture and mass information media includes the production of phonograph records, cassette tapes, cultural goods, artistic items, equipment for parks of culture and recreation, club establishments, libraries, theatrical-entertainment enterprises, and cinematography. As a result of the production and sale of these goods, the state budget receives a tax on turnover and a portion of the profits.

A number of establishments of culture rendering paid services to the public operate on the principle of cost-accounting (theatrical-entertainment establishments, parks of culture and recreation, circuses, zoos, musical and dance collectives, and so forth). Partial cost-accounting is used in the activities of cultural-educational establishments, for example, clubs and museums. On the average, they recover approximately half of their operating expenses through funds received from their own activities.

If we take into account all monies coming in as a result of the production and sale of goods of a cultural and informational nature, as well as the rendering

of paid cultural services to the public, then their volume is approximately equal to the state's expenses for the financial support and development of this complex.

The Integrated Program of Development of Production of Goods for Consumer Use and the Service Sphere for 1986-2000 has determined that the major task and a simultaneous source of increased profit for the complex of culture and mass information media is to expand the volumes of production of material goods of a cultural and informational nature, and paid services. In order to resolve this task successfully, in our view, it is necessary to organize financing and price setting based on principles common to the entire complex which set forth a measure of the social-cultural significance of individual forms of goods and services and assess the trends of change of consumer demand for them. Currently the demand for goods and services of establishments of culture and mass information media is still far from being fully satisfied. There is a shortage of printed material, and the supply of television and radio sets to the public is lagging behind the level of a number of countries. Central television broadcasting is done in color broadcasting only, supplemented by color broadcasts of local programs. But at the beginning of 1984 the total number of color televisions was approximately 13 million sets, or about 16 percent of the total number of televisions owned by individuals, while production of them in this same year was only 40 percent of the total number of televisions produced by the industry. This not only substantially reduces the effectiveness of color broadcasting, but also prevents the receipt of additional money from the population.

Further development of electronic consumer equipment (the appearance of videotape recorders and videotape players) and the changed consumer demand of the population caused by them are expanding the possibilities of obtaining additional funds. Organizing various types of amateur clubs on a paid basis, and using modern electronic equipment and other advanced technical devices in their work, might promote an increased assortment of services made available to the population and strengthen the financial base of the corresponding establishments.

Analysis of the public's expenditures and the planned increase of this income is of great significance for determining the prospects of development of the economic complex of cultural sectors and mass information media. There is a stable relationship between the level of income of the population and the consumption of cultural goods and services, which makes it possible to use estimates of the monetary income of the population in predicting demand for paid services and material goods provided by this complex.

Development of the economic complex of sectors of culture and the mass information media depends to a significant degree on the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of labor resources--the number of workers employed, their level of qualification, their intellectual capacities, production experience, creative potential, and so forth.

The specific nature of the sectors of culture and mass information media is a result of the broad variety of demands placed on its labor resources. It includes creative workers--those who directly create spiritual values, and industrial-production personnel--those who produce material goods and workers employed in serving the public.

One of the basic directions of development of the complex of sectors of culture and the mass information media until recently was expansion of the network of establishments and enterprises and increases in the number of personnel. From 1965 to 1984 the number of persons employed in these sectors increased from 1,274,100 to 2,302,500 individuals, that is, by a factor of 1.8, while at the same time the number of workers, employees, and kolkhoz members in the economy as a whole increased by a factor of only 1.3 during the same period, which brought about an increased proportion of workers in cultural sectors in the total number of workers, employees and kolkhoz members (Table 3).

Table 3--Structure of Employment in Sectors of Culture
and the Mass Information Media, %

| | <u>1965</u> | <u>1970</u> | <u>1975</u> | <u>1980</u> | <u>1984</u> |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Total workers | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Including: | | | | | |
| In culture | 43.8 | 50.3 | 54.9 | 58.6 | 59.8 |
| In art | 11.1 | 10.1 | 10.1 | 9.8 | 9.9 |
| In cinematography | 23.6 | 20.0 | 17.4 | 15.3 | 14.3 |
| In the press | 21.5 | 19.6 | 17.6 | 16.3 | 16.0 |
| Proportion of workers in culture and the mass information media in the total number of workers, employees, and kolkhoz members | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.7 |

In the sectors of the complex which provide services to the public and the sectors relating to the sphere of material production, the relationships between rates of growth of number of persons employed and the increases in fixed assets are different. In the production sectors, increased output of goods through increased possession of capital promotes relative reduction of personnel. Improving the satisfaction of the public's increased demands for services requires rapid increase of employment in the corresponding sectors, moreover the possibilities for economizing on labor power here are more limited than in material production, since the increased buying power of labor is not always accompanied by a reduced number of workers. The rates of growth of labor power in the complex as a whole are slowing. In the 8th Five-Year Plan the growth rate was 29 percent, in the 9th it was 17 percent, in the 10th it was 14 percent, and in the 11th less than 5 percent. This factor makes it necessary to determine the directions for advantageously intensifying the development of sectors of culture and the mass information media, as well as improving the use of existing cadres.

In connection with this, questions of forming labor resources in the complex, consolidating cadres, and training and retraining specialists acquire great significance. It is necessary to implement a number of measures directed at further raising the prestige of this labor, and improving the working conditions for specialists and wages for their labor. Currently the average monthly wages of workers in culture total only 63 percent of the average monthly wages in the economy as a whole. The Basic Directions of Social and Economic Development of the USSR for 1986-1990, confirmed at the 27th CPSU Congress, call for beginning a gradual increase in the wages of workers in culture.

In order to improve wages for the labor of cultural workers in the countryside, who comprise half of the total number of cultural and educational workers, it would be necessary, for example, to give sovkhozes the right to establish the wages of rural club workers for carrying out active cultural-mass work to mobilize working people toward successful fulfillment of production plans and for combining more than one specialty (position), and to determine the amount of wages depending on specialized education and the work record.

In connection with the limited possibilities of attracting additional labor resources into the sectors of culture and the mass information media, it is necessary to work out measures for increasing the financial interest of collectives and leaders of enterprises, establishments, and organizations of culture in carrying out work with reduced personnel and making broader use of combined specialties. It is also necessary to redistribute cadres within the framework of the complex in order to achieve more effective use of them in specific sectors. The problem of cadres for carrying out cultural-educational jobs might be partially solved through expanded recruitment of young students and pensioners, attracting specialists for work at combined jobs, and so forth.

The level of education and qualifications of workers employed in many cultural establishments does not match the increased cultural level of the population. Among the staff workers in clubs and other cultural-educational establishments in the system of the USSR Ministry of Culture, a total of only 8.7 percent have higher education (only 5.6 of these have specialized education in cultural-educational work), and only 37.6 percent have a secondary education. More than one-third of the workers have a work record of less than 3 years.

The CPSU Central Committee decree of 12 June 1985 titled "On Measures To Improve the Use of Club Establishments and Sports Facilities" calls for further improving the system of training cadres with higher education for cultural establishments, and expanding the admission of rural youth into institutes of culture. In the distribution of cadres, the primary factor taken into account will be the needs of rural regions of the country, especially the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, Siberia, and the Far East. Plans call for increasing VUZ training of organization and methods specialists in cultural-educational work, as well as the training of leaders for amateur arts activities in secondary specialized educational establishments.

The Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and the Period Up to the Year 2000 call for increasing the role of socialist culture and art and the mass information media in ideological-political, moral, legal, artistic, and aesthetic education, as well as more fully satisfying the spiritual needs of the Soviet people. It is planned to further develop the material-technical base of culture and the mass information media. An integrated approach to planning and administration of resources in this complex will make it possible to determine the most effective means of this development from the economic and social points of view, and will promote realization of the tasks set forth in the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. See SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 13 May 1986.

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CULTURE

WRITERS' UNION SECRETARIAT DISCUSSIONS REPORTED

PM261844 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 86 p 7

[Unattributed report under the rubric "At the USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat": "Time to Act!"]

[Text] The Board Secretariat elected by the Eighth USSR Writers' Congress assembled for its first session three months ago, when the work plan for the second half-year was approved and the collective opinion was voiced that it is necessary to intervene more actively in resolving creative questions and to involve the entire elected aktiv of writers' organizations in the work. What, then, has been done during this time?

Definite positive changes have occurred. Writers in all republics, krais, and oblasts have discussed the results of the congress in a frank and interested manner, Yu. Verchenko began his report. Secretariat sessions have been held in Belorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Georgia. Azerbaijani and Kazakh litterateurs will meet for earnest discussion in the next few days. The purpose of these meetings is, above all, to conduct a direct, comradely discussion of the affairs of a particular organization, of what the colleagues are working on, and, of course, of what is hindering and slowing down the creative process and how to eliminate these hindrances. For it is the purpose of the USSR Writers' Union's activity to ensure that the reader gets talented new works of high ideological and artistic quality. Incidentally, leading prose writers, poets, and publicists have recently been writing frequently in the central press, making their contribution to the complex restructuring process that is taking place in the country and to propaganda of the Soviet peace initiatives.

The Lithuanian Writers' Union Board Presidium has examined the work of its press organs. An extramural session of the Ukrainian Writers' Union Board Secretariat was held recently in Chernigov, and similar sessions will be held in Uzhgorod and Dnepropetrovsk to discuss the activity of the local creative organization. The new experience of Uzbekistan, where unofficial meetings between litterateurs and leaders of the republic writers' organization are part of the system, is of interest--it is easier to express your concerns in a tete-a-tete.

Press organs have commented positively on the poetic raid along the Dnepr, in which representatives of various republics participated. The new drama, criticism, and literary criticism councils have taken their first steps.

A few words about what will happen in the near future: Prominent publicists will meet with scientists at a scientific and practical conference in Poltava 27 October. They will discuss the problems of the rural worker's spiritual world and restructuring in the countryside. The Kazakh Writers' Organization is preparing to report to the USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat. A big, complex discussion is expected. A session devoted to the teaching of literature in school--a question that is of concern to us all and is being discussed widely in the press, on television and radio, and in every family--will be held with the USSR's APN. A plenum of the board of the Russian Writers' Union, which unites half of all Writers' Union members, will be devoted to the very important topic "Friendship of Peoples--Friendship of Literatures." Preparations are under way for a Moscow Writers' Organization Board plenum, and a young writers' seminar is being prepared in Moscow.

A number of useful international meetings have taken place--a representative delegation of French writers, members of the Academie Goncourt, visited Moscow; Graham Greene came; and a meeting is now taking place with Italian litterateurs, including Alberto Moravia. The international conference "The Fate of World Civilization in Socialist Literatures" in Tbilisi will leave its mark. Bulgarian friends evaluated highly the Soviet-Bulgarian translators' meeting in Varna.

It would seem that something has been done and much of importance is planned. But, nevertheless, I must point out with great alarm, Yu. Verchenko continued, that very many writers' organizations and also press organs are still working in the old way. The USSR Writers' Union is still operating without proper dynamism. It is also necessary to broaden publicity and all forms of democratism in every possible way and to strengthen control from below. There is no urgency to get things moving, initiative is not displayed in solving the most urgent problems, and in some places the moral climate is such that writers do not so much write books as elucidate relations. The Ukrainian Writers' Union has set an example of the principled assessment of such phenomena. A session of its secretariat discussed the work of the Odessa Writers' Organization, which has made a great contribution to literature but is now torn by contradictions, rows, and squabbles. And so, its work has been deemed unsatisfactory. Perhaps such a stern assessment will help the Odessa litterateurs to look more closely at what is happening in their collective and to draw the appropriate conclusions.

The Azerbaijan and Turkmen Writers' Unions and a number of Russian organizations could work more creatively and actively. But I would be wrong to keep quiet about shortcomings in the work of our "big" union and its apparatus. Here are examples. The previous secretariat decided to hold a plenum at the end of the year on the subject "The Writer and the 5-Year Plan"--the preparations for it have still hardly even begun. The conference in Krasnoyarsk did not take place--the All-Union Bureau of Propaganda of Artistic Literature did not fulfill its mission, and the secretariat did not check in time.

The demands for restructuring apply primarily to the work of the USSR Writers' Union apparatus, and a mass of problems still has to be solved here.

"The human factor" is a concept that applies also to such a complex individual as the real writer. A wholesome creative atmosphere, a correct attitude to criticism---principled, comradely, benevolent criticism that does not bow to rank or title---respect for the individual, confidence that at any time it is possible to find understanding and support in your own organization, from comrades elected to leading posts by the will of the collective--all this, in the final analysis, however ponderous it sounds with regard to the litterateur's work, helps to raise labor productivity.

S. Mikhalkov, N. Gorbachev, An. Ivanov, V. Telpugov and other speakers reflected on this in their speeches. The times themselves demand the broadening of the collegial, democratic principles of the Writers' Union's activity, and for this it is equally important to hear the voice of the venerable artist and the young litterateur. However, S. Mikhalkov pointed out, to our great chagrin it is not only among Odessa litterateurs that things are still not well, for there are also many Russian organizations in which discord and dissension are hindering normal work. Speaking of the role of press organs, V. Korotich pointed out that only public, open discussion of any problems can conquer such phenomena. Both the republic congresses and the USSR writers' congress essentially marked the start of the certification that is taking place throughout the country and which concerns every working person. As was stated, we must all learn to live under conditions of democracy.

The discussion at the session touched on a wide range of problems--the involvement of writers in explaining to the Soviet and international public the proposals made by M.S. Gorbachev in Reykjavik, contacts with the West's creative intelligentsia (S. Dangulov, A. Safronov, Yu. Gribov), tours of the country, meetings with readers during the Soviet Literary Festival--incidentally, new forms are needed here too (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has written repeatedly of this). There was discussion of the fact that literary publications and newspapers do not always manage to make a timely and correct assessment of articles which provoke a broad public response (N. Gribachev). For what, after all, is restructuring? It is a struggle for quality. Just try not publishing a newspaper or magazine, you cannot even imagine such a thing! But what has been printed there, is the material of good quality? Criticism must speak about this, An. Ivanov emphasized.

A. Chakovskiy devoted his speech to ideological work, which must be conducted particularly actively during the period of restructuring, helping both professional litterateurs and readers to correctly evaluate new phenomena in the spiritual life of society and to orient themselves correctly in the multiplicity of articles which have appeared recently in the pages of the press. His speech was wholly supported by F. Kuznetsov. The ideological aspect, he said, is assuming special significance in the process of the current restructuring, with the deepening of the principles of democratism and self-management among writers. He informed the gathering in detail about the preparations for the Moscow Writers' Organization Board plenum, which will

examine ways to implement the criticisms made during the report-and-election campaign and at the Eighth USSR Writers' Congress.

Concluding this part of the session, G. Markov emphasized that, despite all the undoubted changes for the better that have occurred recently, the USSR Writers' Union has accumulated an extraordinarily large number of unsolved problems. They must be solved collectively.

U. Umarbekov, chairman of the Soviet Committee for Ties with Asian and African Writers, delivered a report on the results of the International Literary Symposium and the session of the Asian and African Writers' Association Executive Council. Some 86 litterateurs from 61 countries discussed the question of the role of modern literature in the struggle for independence, peace, and friendship. The standpoint of the symposium participants is best of all characterized by the telegram sent to M.S. Gorbachev expressing full support for the efforts which our country is making to improve the international climate and in the struggle for peace throughout the world, and by other documents: the Pyongyang declaration, the appeal to Asian and African writers, and the communique on the results of the executive council's work. A. Vaksberg and O. Suleymenov spoke on this question at the secretariat session.

F. Kuznetsov spoke about the USSR Writers' Union delegation's trip to the FRG. "Europe on the Threshold of the Third Millennium" is the title of a book published by the "Khudozhestvennaya Literatura" Publishing House and the Duesseldorf Brueckenverlag Publishing House. Its subtitle--"For Peace, Nature, and Man"--speaks for itself. The first part is called the "Book of Peace," and the editorial collegium is continuing work on the second and third parts--the "Book of Nature" and the "Book of Man." This publication promotes better mutual understanding between our countries.

The USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat resolved to approve the work of the USSR Writers' Union delegation at the International Literary Symposium and the Asian and African Writers' Association Executive Council session, as well as the work done by the USSR Writers' Union delegation in Dortmund and at the book fair in Frankfurt am Main.

Yu. P. Voronov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Section, participated in the session.

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CULTURE

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MANAGING NEW THEATER EXPERIMENT

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[Article by G. Sazontov, candidate of economic sciences: "Administration and Planning of Theatrical Activities: The Experiment Ahead"]

[Text] The methods of administration of theatrical activity and planning of it which are currently used do not fully take into account the specific nature of the creative theatrical process and the nature of its interconnection with production-economic factors. In order to eliminate these shortcomings, the following things are proposed in the course of carrying out the theatrical experiment: reduce the number of plan indicators, adopt a normative principle of putting together the wage fund, and boost the amateur activities and initiative of collectives.

The theater plays an important role in cultural-aesthetic and ideological education. It assists the introduction of broad segments of the population to the achievements of Soviet and world culture, and the flowering of the original art of the multinational people of our country.

At the present time, the USSR has created a broad network of theaters. There are 630 stationary collectives in operation, including 352 dramatic theaters, 87 theaters of opera, ballet and musical comedy, and 191 theaters for children and puppet theaters. Over 40,000 professionally trained workers labor in them. The theaters produce 3,000 premieres annually. In 1985 300,000 shows were put on in 46 languages of the peoples of the USSR, seen by 124 million customers. The annual volume of financial activity of the theaters totalled approximately 300 million rubles.

In connection with the substantial increase in the potential of the theater and increased funds directed at its development, the role of the economic aspect in theatrical activity is increasing. Along with increasing the ideological-artistic level of work in theatrical practice, the significance of cost accounting must be increased, and economic work must be improved.

The necessity of raising the social role of the theater, further developing it, and strengthening its ideological-political and aesthetic educational effect under the conditions of moving the country's economic and cultural

construction onto the track of intensification requires the improvement of the entire system of administration and planning of theatrical activities.

Under the system of planning currently in effect, the specific character of the creative theatrical process and the nature of its interconnection with the production-economic factors of the theater's activity is not fully taken into account. The following indicators are established in yearly plans for theaters: number of viewers, number of new and substantially revised productions, total profits, total expenditures, the financial result (profit or loss), the volume of state subsidies, the wage fund, the number of workers, the allocations needed to support the apparatus of administration, and the normative of the collective's own circulating capital. Even from a simple list of these indicators, it is clear that despite the large number of them they are all practically unconnected, and this means that they do not directly influence the creative, qualitative results of a theater's work. They regulate only the production-financial aspect of theatrical work.

Furthermore, the indicators which reflect the results of the theater's work are not connected with those which determine the volume and structure of material resources allocated to the theater to support its operation. All of this substantially reduces the effectiveness of planning and, consequently, administration. The single process of producing, distributing, and assimilating the spiritual benefits of the theater turns out to be practically "torn to bits," the assessment of each of them being carried out in an isolated fashion. Two relatively independent aspects of administration have taken shape--the creative-repertoire and the production-financial activity of the theater.

Another shortcoming of planning is the calculation of indicators from the "level achieved." This does not prompt the theater to undertake intensive plans, since successful fulfillment of them means that plan indicators the following year increase without properly taking into account the realistic chances of fulfilling them. As a result, theaters have an interest in maintaining the conditions of their operation which have taken shape, in stabilizing them without trying to find reserves or improve the indicators of their work. In addition, a large number of the indicators planned for theaters limit their independence and hold back their initiative.

The accounting indicators of theater plans are weakly connected with the financial and material resources allocated to them. Above all, this applies to the amount of subsidies. They are determined without taking into account the actual tasks, conditions, and capacities of the work of theaters. Regardless of the plans and intentions of theaters, subsidies in the year currently being planned must be reduced in comparison with the actual data of the current year.

In the RSFSR, for example, during the last 15 years subsidies decreased by 32 percent at comparable costs for producing and putting on shows. They are not making up for higher costs which are independent of the theater. As a result, in the country as a whole the rates of growth of theater income on average (at comparable prices) during this period are double the rates of growth of costs per single customer. All of this is reducing the financial interest of theater collectives in effectively using their existing capacities.

Currently state subsidies make up for 52 percent of the costs of theaters. Subsidies play an important social-political role, largely determining the ability of theatrical collectives to realize their creative ideas, and creating the conditions for widespread introduction of the entire population to cultural benefits, in particular, for example, by establishing low prices for theater tickets compared with actual costs of producing the shows. Subsidies also fulfill a significant economic function, influencing the financial indicators of the work of theaters in the most direct possible manner.

The state's subsidy policies are carried out by the organs of culture and financial organs. In principle they are supposed to take into equal account both the social-political and the economic functions of a subsidy. But in practice financial organs are frequently guided only by economic circumstances in determining the amount of a subsidy and the ways in which it is to be used. Organs of culture and theaters are constantly in the role of supplicants, rather than the masters of the funds allocated to them. In comparison with the financial organs, the positions of the organs of culture are weakened, in particular by the fact that administration of the processes of putting together subsidies in them are decentralized, while they are centralized in the financial organs. In the union republics questions of subsidies are the concern of republic councils of ministers, and so the USSR Ministry of Culture has no possibility of participating in putting together subsidies for the republics or planning for them as a unified whole. In essence, this places the USSR Ministry of Culture at the same rank as the republic ministries of culture with regard to the USSR Ministry of Finance.

The dominating role of financial organs is manifested in another way as well. Financial organs influence the economic interests of the theater by methods of economic regulation, while organs of culture, essentially, are denied similar levers and the administrative measures which they are able to use frequently do not yield the desired results. As a result, economic interests are beginning to prevail over creative interests in the theater which, obviously, is not justified from the point of view of developing culture and enhancing people's aesthetic and spiritual growth.

As an example, one might cite the procedure for forming the bonus fund--it is not connected with the final results of the theater's activity but depends on economizing on the subsidy allocated. Approximately half of the subsidy money saved is directed toward bonuses, while the rest goes into the state budget. Of course, economizing as such is one of the leading principles of socialist economic management. But it is one thing for it to promote development and improve the overall situation and quite another thing when motives of saving are connected only with the possibility of obtaining an award. A basic means of economizing on subsidies is increasing the total number of shows at the theater as compared to the plan. This practice leads to a situation in which, for example, in the Russian Federation two-thirds of the theaters operate on an overloaded schedule, forced to put on up to 500 shows per year.

In the "fight" for the audience, many city and oblast theaters are forced to increase the number of new productions, which creates excessive stress in the work and impoverishes the arsenal for producing shows in connection with limited funds. All of this lowers the quality of the shows. In addition, the very source of the bonus fund is incorrect. The necessity of economizing on

the subsidy paid arouses doubts of the well-foundedness and objectivity of planning and financing.

Thus, excessive tutelage of financial organs over the activities of theaters reduces the effectiveness of subsidies, creates additional difficulties in the work of theaters, and fails to promote a higher artistic level of shows.

In our view, the practice of quarterly payment of subsidies by financial organs does not make sense. According to regulations on theatrical-entertainment enterprises, planning-finance services of theaters, and organs of the administration of culture along with them, are called upon to carry out a constant analysis of the artistic-creative and financial-production activities of a theater in order to discover reserves and work out directions of developing creative collectives. But in actual fact, all of the services named are really occupied with paper-shuffling, regularly compiling reports on the use of the subsidy paid. This work is carried out with the single goal of making reports back, or, more accurately, justifying the production-economic activity in the eyes of local financial organs in order to obtain from them the usual plan subsidy to maintain operation of the theater. Of course, the corresponding services of the financial organs as well are forced to direct the majority of their efforts in directions which have nothing to do with improving the theatrical work.

Furthermore, with such tutelage and control over the activities of theatrical workers, they have unintentionally been given the impression that they are not trusted, that without the constant, controlling "eye" on them they cannot work honestly and faithfully. All of this frequently arouses a sense of dissatisfaction, holds down initiative, and has a negative effect on the results of work.

At the present time in theatrical administrative practice there are so many limitations that theaters have almost completely lost their independence. The creative initiative of their workers runs up against various administrative-legal regulations, and as a result innovative economic thinking and possible maneuvering of resources are held back. All of this reduces the financial interest of theater collectives in improving economic work and increasing their social role.

In many theaters there are serious problems connected with cadres. Troupes are often excessively swollen, and their proportions are violated with regard to sex, stage types, and age, which has a negative effect on the professional standing of the theater and the creative growth of its actors. This situation is explained to no little extent by shortcomings in planning, in particular the quantitative composition of the theater collective and the wage fund. At the present time this fund is set independently of the actual volumes of work of the theater, in accordance with the established number of workers. Under this condition, theaters tried to obtain the largest possible fund, in order to secure the conditions for a comfortable and peaceful life. Wages depend less and less on the result of the labor contribution.

One of the reasons for shortcomings in the existing system of planning is the inadequacy of the indicators currently used, especially the indicator of "box

office receipts." This indicator might be used to evaluate the final result of work of any economic project in which the main purpose of the activity is the recognition of consumers. But in the sectors of culture, particularly for the theater, such an evaluation is clearly not adequate. Society is interested not only in increasing the population's contacts with theatrical art but also in raising the ideological-artistic level of the shows. When this indicator is used as the main indicator there frequently arise cases in which a theater fulfills the plan of box office receipts by having a repertoire which satisfies the undemanding tastes of a certain segment of the population, without in the process fully resolving the social tasks standing before it.

The existing procedure of admitting shows by organs of culture also does not always guarantee their artistic and ideological-political level. The right of admitting a show by workers of organs of culture is not connected directly with their responsibility for the quantitative level of the theater's repertoire. Therefore they are frequently concerned that they not permit a "controversial show" on the stage, and thus plays with the social conflicts glossed over, of a lower artistic level, have greater chances of being accepted. As a result, the theater's role in resolving urgent tasks of the social development of society is reduced, and organs of culture now end then lose the functions of ideological-political leadership of the theatrical-repertory process.

The basic tasks facing theaters currently are substantially activizing their creative potential, raising the social significance and artistic-aesthetic level of the shows, expanding theater audiences, and improving the use of labor, material, and financial resources.

The specific nature of the theatrical process requires that its planning secure the mutual empowerment and unity of repertoire-creative and production-financial activity. In order to do this, it is necessary, in particular, to use integral indicators of the theater's work.

It is also important to determine a rational combination between strengthening the centralized leadership of the theatrical process and expanding the boundaries of the theater's independence. The first point suggests above all raising the quality of work of central administrative organs. As for increasing the independence of theaters, this should be connected as closely as possible with increasing their responsibility for the results of their labor.

It is also necessary to improve economic regulation of a theater's work, in particular the system of wages, bonuses, evaluating actors' qualifications, and so forth. Another urgent task is to further develop the principles of socialist democratism directly in theaters--raising the role of the collective, ensuring openness and accountability in the work of the theater's leadership, and strengthening control from below.

On 19 April 1986, the CPSU Central Committee held a conference of figures in the theatrical world, theater managers [direktory], secretaries of party organizations, playwrights, and leaders of creative unions. At the conference it was emphasized that the time has come to search out new forms and methods of the work of theaters, expanding their rights, and consequently, also

increasing their responsibility. Those at the conference expressed the value of providing theaters with great creative and production independence, and creating the conditions for developing initiative. Theaters should be granted organizational and financial opportunities to work with playwrights, and the rights of artistic councils should be expanded.

A way of testing these proposals in practice is the integrated experiment which is planned to be carried out over the course of 2 years beginning on 1 January 1987, in order that the new forms and methods of administration which have proved themselves can be adopted in all theaters of the country as early as 1989. Artistic councils and theatrical collectives should participate in the experiment as broadly as possible.

To conduct the theatrical experiment it is necessary to create a mechanism of planning and administration which will promote realization of the tasks which have been set. In doing this it is important to take into account the fact that under modern conditions the effectiveness of one measure or another is evaluated by its direct link with the final result and the degree to which it influences the quality of the result. This makes it necessary to precisely define the concept of the final result of a theatrical collective's activities.

The theater is created and lives for people. Therefore, the final result of its activities is participation in cultural service to the population. This result can be evaluated by the number of people who go to see shows. But a theater should not merely attract an audience but also educate them, develop them, and satisfy aesthetic and spiritual needs--that is, create shows of a high ideological-artistic and aesthetic level. Thus the specific nature of the final result of theatrical activities is demonstrated. It is fairly difficult to make an objective assessment of a show's quality level. A member of the audience is guided in his opinions and assessments of a show by his personal life experience and artistic taste. One show or another may be greeted by one group of viewers as interesting and true, and by another the reverse. Society as a whole, however, whose interests are expressed by the state, evaluates a show from ideological-political, moral, and aesthetic positions, since it is oriented toward solving tasks of social progress, and the social-economic development of society. But the assessment of society and the majority of the audience cannot be fundamentally different, since in both cases it is based on the norms of communist morality and the values of the socialist way of life, which have prevailing significance in our society.

A show which is filled with a wealth and precision of ideas and distinguished by high artistic-aesthetic mastery and innovativeness of stage forms and content ensures harmonious unanimity in the assessment of the audience and society. And it is this sort of final result which should be considered a high one.

The basic principle of the theatrical experiment is rejection of the currently used predominantly administrative methods of leadership and, as called for by the 27th CPSU Congress, expansion of the boundaries of independence of labor collectives, along with raising their responsibility for achieving high final qualitative results. In connection with this it is necessary to substantially change the organizational-creative principles of activity in theaters. Above

all, it is necessary to provide for further development of democratic principles in the theater, and in order to do this to sharply increase the role of its artistic council as the organ of collective self-government, and expand its rights so that it can responsibly decide all important questions of life in the theater, and above all its central problem--putting together a repertoire and raising the quality level of shows. It is worthwhile to choose the members of the artistic council in the collective of the theater, rather than appointing them in an administrative procedure as is currently done.

The artistic council should be given the right (which they do not now have) to approve the theater's repertoire, to choose plays or literary works for production, and to stage the show prepared.

A question of particular importance is the role and position of the chief director [rezhisser] in the theater. It would seem that successful resolution of the task of improving theatrical work is connected above all with this central figure of the entire theatrical process, with expansion of his rights and increased responsibility for him. Currently his rights are limited and his duties not precisely defined and, in the corresponding regulations, they are set forth on the same level as the duties of the theater manager, or after them.

In contrast to the existing order, in our view, it is necessary that the artistic council be headed by the chief director. Appointment of the subordinate directors also should be carried out only by suggestion or with the agreement of the chief director. Just like the artistic council, he should be given full responsibility for the ideological-artistic and aesthetic position of the theater, as well as the quality of shows.

During the course of the experiment it is necessary to test the workability and effectiveness of the proposal to introduce the position of artistic leader instead of that of chief director, who would simultaneously fulfill the functions of a theater manager. Of course, in such a case it would be necessary to create the proper conditions for such a worker.

It would be worthwhile to carry out periodic certification of the leadership staff of a theater, beginning with the chief director; while doing so the opinion of the entire theater collective should be taken into account. In our view, this measure, along with the new procedure of forming the creative staff of a theater by reelection of its members, which was introduced in 1986, will make it possible to create an integral system of placement and growth of theatrical cadres, founded on true democratism and openness. In order to improve the conditions for forming creative collectives, theaters should also use the practice of concluding labor agreements for a fixed period of time with artistic-creative personnel. This would allow the theater to pursue a flexible cadre policy, promote the creation of a more businesslike atmosphere, and prompt members of the collective to become more actively involved in its creative life.

Approbation of the new principles of economic management, forms and methods of administration and planning should be carried out taking into account the actual conditions of existence of a theater--that is, with the already existing theatrical collective and repertoire, and also the already established

volume of subsidies. During the experiment it is necessary for theaters to keep their subsidies, but at the same time to change the forms and methods of shaping and using it so that it can orient theaters, to a greater degree than currently, toward improving the qualitative and quantitative indicators of work at the same time. It makes sense to establish the amount of a subsidy at the level of the plan for the year preceding the experiment, and to keep it unchanged for the entire period of the experiment. An increase or decrease in the subsidy is permitted only in case of changed conditions of economic management which are independent of the theater's activity. Economizing on the subsidy should remain at the discretion of the theater. All of this will create for the theater stable financial conditions for its creative and economic activity, expand the independence of collectives, and increase financial interest in conscientious economic management and obtaining high final results.

It makes sense to reduce the number of plan indicators established for theaters "from above," which will also promote the development of their independence and initiative. Instead of the currently established 10 indicators, it should be limited to three: the number of viewers, the wage fund, and the volume of the state subsidy. The indicator of the number of viewers served (including those not at the permanent establishment) should be established in order to prompt theaters to increase the scale of their activity and their viewing audience.

In the course of the experiment it is proposed to adopt what is called the normative principle of forming the wage fund. For every percent of increased income from the basic activity of the theater, in accordance with the corresponding normative established for the entire period of the experiment, the planned wage fund may be increased. The actual fund will consist of the planned wage fund of the base year and additional funds calculated according to the normative of increase. This will make it possible to closely connect the level of wages with the results of the theater's work.

In order to expand the theater's rights, it is worthwhile to grant its leadership the right to draw up and approve, together with the entire collective, annual plans of creative, economic, and social development, based on established indicators and normatives. Under these plans, higher organs of administration will allocate the appropriate funds. The theater should coordinate the limit of its number of workers with territorial planning organs at the stage of drawing up the projects of yearly plans.

It seems possible for plans not to dictate to theaters an indicator of the number of new productions. This will free them from the duty of producing a certain number of new shows at any price and allow them to concentrate their efforts on raising the quality level of new shows.

In the discussion of reforms of the theatrical business going on in the pages of the press,¹ the opinion has sometimes been expressed that ceasing to use this indicator may have a negative effect on the activities of a theater, or on its repertoire--reducing the number of new productions--and that this will reflect negatively on the creative work of playwrights. Obviously, in principle this possibility exists; therefore several directors have suggested that

a theater keep in its repertoire a limited number of shows which enjoy special popularity among audiences. This, of course, is just as extreme as increasing the repertoires of certain theaters to several dozen shows.

In our view, the basic guarantee that a theater's repertoire will be constantly renewed is that the nature of artistic creativity will not tolerate stagnation, and the true artist cannot see himself outside of the creative search and new stage projects. And this is the central point. Of course, in dispensing with a planned quantity of new shows, it is necessary to create the appropriate conditions which would promote the increased financial interest of directors in new productions. It would be worthwhile to compensate for the rejection of administrative forms of influence using a system of moral and material incentivizing of collectives which have achieved significant creative advances in work with modern and classical drama. Great influence might also be exerted by the creation of a more efficient system of state orders for new plays and shows. In order to improve the system of material incentives, broader use might be made of the centralized funds of the USSR Ministry of Culture, taking into account the fact that in accordance with decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on 10 April 1986 concerning the improvement of concert activities in the country, its size is being almost tripled. It would also be worthwhile to grant theaters state credits for new productions with the condition that the loans be paid off through subsequent profits.

Theaters' increased financial interest in expanding the number of new productions will also promote a changed procedure for putting together and using subsidies, and also promote use of the normative principle of forming the wage fund.

Instead of the currently existing funds in theaters which are formed according to the results of work, it would be worthwhile to create funds of creative-production and social development and incentives in a planned order and according to established normatives. The sources for putting together these funds might be profits above the plan or economizing on subsidies. The funds of creative-productive and social development should be used to strengthen the material-technical base of the theater, cover expenses to create new productions, and satisfy the social-cultural, residential-consumer, and other needs of the theater's collective. Money in the incentives fund might be directed toward paying awards for overall results of theater work according to the yearly records and the results of socialist competition, toward single-time bonuses to theater workers for their contribution in producing stage works of a high ideological-artistic level or for fulfilling important targets in organizing and adopting effective forms and methods of expanding cultural service, and also toward rendering material assistance to members of the theater collective, and so forth.

In our view, all of this will promote the collective's increased financial interest in achieving better final results, and increased concern of the troupe for the theater's repertoire and for economic management.

In addition, the experience of theaters of union subordination and theaters of the Russian Federation in using a system of flexible prices for tickets should

be expanded to all collectives participating in the experiment. This measure would promote the expanded independence of leaders of the theater while simultaneously increasing their responsibility.

In order to create shows of a high ideological-artistic and aesthetic level, it is necessary to improve theaters' organizational and financial opportunities of working with playwrights. It would be worthwhile to grant theaters the right to bring in authors of plays for a specific period of time for joint work on a show, with appropriate remuneration for their labor.

In order to improve the operating activities and conditions for creating new theatrical productions, it is also important to design measures to improve planning of the material-technical provisioning of theaters.

The restructuring of the theater business, ultimately, requires that organs of culture improve their methods of administration, and use new approaches and forms in their work. It is necessary to shift the center of focus of all their organizational-creative activity directly into the labor collectives of theaters, in order to participate more actively and with greater financial interest in the work of artistic councils, and to resolve jointly any creative, organizational-financial, cadre or other questions with reliance on the party and social organizations of theaters.

Far from all of these suggestions and scientific-theoretical formulations advanced in the course of this discussion on the problems of theater are capable of being used at the present time, because they have not been adequately developed for testing under experimental conditions. And, of course, the measures planned will not solve all of today's problems. In particular, the proposed principle for determining the subsidy and the form of its use still will not eliminate completely the substantial rift between creative results and the indicators characterizing production-financial work, nor will it establish a direct connection between the subsidy and abilities to influence the ideological-artistic level of a show. Nevertheless, the theatrical experiment has the right to life. Implementation of the proposed measures in the course of the experiment will create favorable conditions for improving the creative process at this stage of development of the theater business, it will ensure stable financial and incentivizing influences on the work of a theater collective, and promote expanded rights and independence of the leaders of a theater and its artistic council, as well as raising the financial interest and initiative of the entire collective in drawing up plans of creative, economic, and social development, and encouraging the creative growth of the artistic staff and the achievement of a high ideological-artistic level of the shows.

FOOTNOTE

1. See: PRAVDA, 21 February 1986; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 31 July 1985, 25 December 1985; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 30 May 1985, 24 September 1985, 11 January 1986, 16 January 1986; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 19 January 1986.

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CULTURE

LITERARY CRITICISM 'UNARMED' WITHOUT THEORETICAL BASE

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[Article by P.A. Nikolayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "Socialist Realism: Problems of Development": "Criticism as Science"--first paragraph is LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] It has already been reported that an all-union conference of chiefs of social science departments was held in Moscow recently. Today we publish an article by Professor P.A. Nikolayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, based on his speech at that conference.

Literary studies are now included in the system of social sciences. This is an incentive for us all to an even deeper interpretation of the ideological nature of literary studies and criticism and their social criteria.

It is no secret that a considerable number of methodological and theoretical transgressions have accumulated in our literary studies and in our criticism. But in order to get rid of them we need a much closer alliance than exists today between literary studies and related scientific disciplines.

The need for such an alliance is dictated by the state and quality of literary thinking. It suffers from the flaws of specialization. Of course, nowadays it is hardly possible to have encyclopedic critics like Belinskiy or Dobrolyubov, who were not only versed in life and literature but were also esthetics philosophers, sociologists, and art theoreticians. Nevertheless, it is necessary to direct modern critics toward the universal method of thinking. Otherwise, how will they manage to tackle works like, for example, Aytmatov's "The Executioner's Block" [Plakha]? Of course, representatives of related spheres of knowledge will examine certain aspects of the work (only, I hope, with greater understanding of the specific nature of artistic thinking than displayed in Prof I. Kryvelev's recent article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which is correct in its overall spirit), but even so, a consummate and comprehensive analysis is indeed the prerogative of literary criticism. Is literary criticism prepared to provide an accurate separation of ideology from terminology, to determine the purposefulness and professional quality of historical and biblical associations in Chingiz Aytmatov's novel and similar works?

It is not easy to give an affirmative answer to this question.

It--criticism--cannot exist without an alliance with theory; it is impossible to cultivate belletrism and to exclude from critical usage such fundamental ideas as realism, socialist realism, and so on. Their disappearance from critical usage is truly catastrophic. Generally speaking, this disappearance could raise doubts about the very existence of a science of literature. Literary thinking deprived of a system of categories and proclaiming itself either a form of "self-expression" or some other subjective method of judgment emerges essentially unarmed and incapable of proving the correctness of its arguments; arguments in literary studies are always inconsistent unless they are backed by specific terms and categories which have taken centuries to develop.

Is this unarmed state, the rejection of reliance on a mighty theoretical tradition, not one of the causes of the disrespectful attitude to criticism and literary studies in our time by some belletrists and even serious writers? If criticism does not uphold its sovereignty and its "language," if it adapts (in exposition) to the style of its "object," it is difficult to expect a respectful attitude from the latter. Criticism and literary studies are themselves to blame for these attitudes, having failed to always converse with writers "on equal terms," having simply failed to convince the latter that logical forms of thinking are in no way inferior to artistic ones.

Obviously, all these words are in no way prompted by a feeling of departmental grievance.

Ultimately, a critic's professional concern always includes a classificatory objective--the task of determining a work's place in contemporary artistic trends. They are, after all, highly varied. And here we have something obvious: Not all published works (even talented ones) can be classified as realism. In the last few decades realism, romanticism, naturalism, and sentimentalism have existed side by side in our country in complete tranquillity. Moreover, their "share" in the general artistic movement has been changing according to the historical and literary situation. A variation on Karamzin's inspiring idea--"peasant women can also love"--emerged in the relatively distant past; thank God, it was squeezed out by the harsh realism of the celebrated "rural prose." Works are now appearing in which one sometimes cannot discern the dividing line between realism and naturalism.

Classical scientific thought proved long ago that, without the social aspect, the portrayal of man creates, at best, just an illusion of specificity and determinacy. If an artist "liberates" human behavior from social motives, he gives his readers grounds to think about the "innate" characteristics of the nature of the person depicted in the work--characteristics which, as a rule, are the subject not of analysis but of a purely external description. I think that such trends do exist among present literary phenomena, including those subject to stormy discussions and engendering deserved sympathy. This, of course, is not the actual "psychophysiology" and "pathology" of foreign (19th-20th century) naturalism, but something close to it. And maybe the terms "realism" and "socialist realism" are often absent from critical works because they are in no way compatible with naturalist trends. It is, after all, well known that realism cannot be depicted as boundless.

There is an urgent need now to elevate the significance of logical forms of thinking, and consequently to develop the explanatory function of modern thinking, including artistic thinking. Classical criticism in general held that there is no realism where there is no explanation. In Dobrolyubov's belief, Gogol's Chichikov and Goncharov's Oblomov were examples of realistic typification because they contain a perceptible explanatory element. And he voiced his regret that a novelist, while combining in his hero "an agglomeration of criminal and cynical characteristics," had failed in helping the reader to understand their origins.

Modern art still contains quite a few descriptive elements, and this is why at times it is difficult to find in a work an answer to the question "why?" Why did the depicted phenomenon acquire precisely this form and none other, and why the absence of internal links between the hero and his progenitor--the social environment which imparted his good or bad qualities?

But there are some even more distressing cases when artists and writers resort to incorrect interpretations of what they have reproduced or what generally exists in the world.

One gets the impression that the descriptive force and the constructive conclusions and conceptual level even in some famous writers are, to put it mildly, highly disparate. The inadequacy of this level seems to be forgiven or simply passed over in silence by enthusiastic criticism, which at times brings these writers to argumentative deliberations about terms like civilization and culture, intelligentsia, morality, Christianity, city and countryside (despite the fact that, in the last few years, our best writers have expressed many important social and state ideas and have upheld them. But this does not lead to creative achievements, it is difficult, for example, not to notice the great differences between the esthetics standard and the standard of content in V. Belov's "urban" novel ALL AHEAD [VSE VPEREDI] and his remarkable AN ORDINARY AFFAIR [PRIVYCHNOYE DELO].

It is wonderful when a narrative is guided by a profound, direct, and--to use the esthetics terms--specifically perceptible and independent impression of the world. It is difficult to expect a great creative success when illustrating ideas--even when they have originated with the author--which have been insufficiently evaluated by social experience.

Maybe "urban" prose has not had such impressive successes in the last few years as "rural" prose, but perhaps the case of V. Belov's new novel could indeed help in finding an explanation for this: The explanation lies with the exceptional difficulty of "urban" material. Can there be anything more complex than the human association called a city, let alone a capital city? Yu. Trifonov, Yu. Nagibin, I. Grekova.... Their profoundly artistic descriptions of the urban environment are the product of decades of spiritual communion with this sociogeographical phenomenon. Of course, much of the world is visible from a rural hut. Much, but not all.

Why is it that, more often than not, criticism avoids discussions regarding contradictions in works by modern writers? This is not due to ethical considerations alone. At times we have the effect of a peculiar logic loudly

declared in literary studies recently--a logic that is convincing in appearance but is, in essence, far removed from science. The press has carried on many occasions statements like: Why talk about differences between world outlook and method, since they are one and the same thing? Why discover instances of the artist's victory over the preacher and treat this as the effect of realism? Where, the question is asked, is the great realism of the classics to be found if they held false ideas? This is written by people who are no ordinary literary scientists. Moreover, the unity of world outlook and method is taken to mean nothing short of identity. In this case it is incomprehensible why two terms exist.

All this is very naive from the viewpoint of strict science, which explained long ago that false ideas do not constitute an artist's entire world outlook but are only a part of it. But even if they were only a small part, that part would still require exposure--otherwise it would be impossible, first, to explain an artistic phenomenon in its entirety and, second, to perceive the sources of all its esthetics weaknesses.

It must not be assumed, either, that the realistic logic of narration does not possess an independent force or is incapable of "abrogating" an author's biased idea. Pushkin wrote about the ninth volume of Karamzin's HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN STATE [ISTORIYA GOSUDARSTVA ROSSIYSKOGO]: "A few isolated reflections in favor of autocracy, eloquently refuted by a true narration of events."

As regards the question of artists' contradictions, here I would touch on a topic that now generates keen interest. I am talking about the publication of works which, until quite recently, would have seemed impossible. This is where it would be quite unforgivable to ignore contradictions, because we still have to deal with writers with a completely different, by no means socialist frame of mind.

The planned publication of V. Nabokov's works has been announced. He is, of course, a major artist, and he should be published. But criticism must sort out his legacy without prejudice, without substituting expressions of delight for serious analysis.

The present concern for the restoration [vosstanovleniye] of forgotten names is noble and natural. But, in this process, a sense of social and moral proportion must be equally natural.

Scientists are staffers of the "Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya" Publishing House are now working with true literary and scientific devotion on a multivolume "Russian Writers" [Russkiye Pisateli] Dictionary. Volume 1 is already at the printers (running to more than 100 standard sheets [avtorskiy list]). It seems that nothing in Russia's unimaginably rich literary heritage has been forgotten. And one cannot but acclaim the fact that the dictionary duly covers writers who lived difficult and at times dramatic lives, who went astray in evaluating major historical events or in choosing their path in life, but who have not been ignored in the history of our country's literature. This is a truly scientific principle.

Openness is a universal concept and it should not, of course, be extended only to the negative phenomena in our life.

Literary thinking needs an alliance with the other social sciences for many reasons. It is exceptionally important to help our sphere of knowledge to understand, in particular, the correlation between Russian literature and the country's other national literatures. In this context, the solution of the problem of national and international aspects in the Political Report to the 27th Party Congress is of exceptional value.

Of course, there is no need to minimize the role of Russian Soviet literature in the development of national literatures. But a truly dialectical view also involves recognition of the latter's influence in Russian literature. The best literary study works in recent times have elaborated this problem quite well, but there could have been more creative efforts in this direction.

The main point is that literary and critical thinking is capable of performing its important ideological function only if the flourishing of Soviet multinational literature is explained in terms of the social conditions prevailing in our country since Great October.

The swift transition from mythological to properly artistic forms of thinking in recently emergent literatures, some of which have reached the highest world standards, is a phenomenon that is specific to the socialist epoch and international in nature. The analysis of this phenomenon requires joint efforts by social scientists.

And here is another complex and acute problem requiring collective attention.

The Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out the impermissibility of idealizing the past and the conservative forms of life. A Leninist perception of historical values does exist. There are Lenin's well-known words that Russia reached Marxism through suffering. This suffering involved struggle against many erroneous doctrines and utopian ideas, and these must be well known in order to prevent their rebirth, even in amended form.

Thus, we must realize profoundly once again how dangerous were the active attempts by critic Akim Volynskiy to replace the term sociopolitical revolution with the term moral revolution. Some contemporary critics wittingly or unwittingly follow this bad example by Volynskiy by giving preference to "moral revolutionary-mindedness" over the sociopolitical programs of Chernyshevskiy and his comrades in arms.

Great caution and thoughtfulness must be exercised in the treatment of moral and social categories when applied to classical artistic types. It is strange to see the continuing counterpoising of these categories to the characters of Oblomov and Shtolts, with continuing interpretation of works contrary to their content.

This is a very striking, one can even say blatant example. Social scientists (the journal KOMMUNIST) have drawn attention to it, but the problem remains.

At a certain point in time, when the word "morality" started to energetically squeeze out the word "social," there occurred in criticism, and later also in art, an elevation, almost a poetization of what progressive Russia and socialism had struggled against for more than 100 years, which personified the social evil of Oblomov-type attitudes. National calamity started being elevated almost to the status of national dignity.

Under the influence of such critical reassessments, one popular contemporary actor perceived in Oblomov a "protest by a noble and pure man against the conditions of the time." And yet even Chekhov said that vacuousness cannot be pure! There even appeared "theoretical" declarations: Another actor and director announced from the television screen the possibility of shifting the emphasis in Oblomov from the social to the moral. If it were only possible to conduct a sociological analysis of the spiritual consequences of such a shift of emphasis among school pupils! Just imagine: Ilya Ilich Oblomov, dreaming about "police" measures against the peasants--a heart of gold, the ultimate in dovish meekness! This is a serious problem, and art theoreticians alone, saying that an artistic character cannot be broken apart and his qualities cannot be treated in isolation, evidently will not resolve it. Philosophers, sociologists, historians: What do you have to say?

Generally speaking, literary scholars must give more active thought to their individual influence on mass awareness--priority is still being given to other forms and methods of thinking right now. And yet our classical thinking has never been elitist.

Literary science is a discipline of the social sciences. But it is original and very independent. Its proper concern is, in particular, to give a constant reminder of the specific laws of art. Here we also have a problem.

Of course, criticism, as a rule, is concerned with whether contemporary novels and novellas dealing with controversial problems are artistic phenomena in the proper sense of the word. This is so. At times, however, one gets the impression that the critics are prepared to pay no special attention to esthetics flaws because of the controversy in question. There is, of course, an obvious argument: Here we are dealing not with art but with life itself.

Despite all the moral attractiveness of such a stance, it still seems that professional criticism, even in such cases, could be more universal. Otherwise, why should it constantly cite Belinskiy and his words that art is primarily art in the most natural unity of content and form?

The question of specific historicism will always be current for literary science and criticism.

Historicism is the foundation of the methodology of "Marxist-Leninist artistic criticism," as defined at our party's 27th Congress. Only thanks to specific historicism will literary science be able to fittingly perform its function as a social science.

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CULTURE

WRITER DEPLORES CENSORSHIP BY LOCAL OFFICIALS

PM241131 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 4 Oct 86 p 3

[Valentin Semenov article under the rubric "Direct Speech": "I Believe in the Party's Reason and Truth"--first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction]

[Text] Writer V. Semenov's childhood coincided with the war years. The formation of his character and development of his literary interests began at Voronezh University, where his lecturers were recent front line fighters.

In his work critic and prose writer Valentin Semenov affirms love for man, the power of good, and a sense of honor. He has written an interesting novella on wartime childhood and has penned quite a few press articles on our poetry and contemporary prose.

Today we openly and pointedly speak and write about the figure of the party worker. But, while we talk at length about the leadership of the economy,, little is written about how some senior party workers lead culture. This is what I would like to consider on the basis of specific examples.

I once write an article about Chingiz Aytmatov's novel "The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years" [Burannyi Polustanok]... But let me introduce myself. I am a literary critic, I dabble in prose writing, I am a member of the USSR Writers Union, and I have been head of the Criticism Department at the journal PODYEM for 13 years now. For a quarter of a century now I have worked first in journalism and then in literature and I have been a party member for over 20 years, with two books to my credit and numerous articles published in Voronezh and Moscow. I am 50 years old. Married. I already have grandchildren...

A perfectly mature comrade, as you can see, and, I would venture to hope, one with a normally developed sense of his own dignity, which, as is well known, is a somewhat heightened feeling among creative people.

Back to what I was saying. I wrote an article about Chingiz Aytmatov's novel "The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years." The executive secretary at the editorial office of the journal PODYEM, the deputy chief editor, and the chief editor liked the article, and it was sent off for typesetting. All of them are also experienced literary workers and mature Communists.

Suddenly the article was withdrawn from the journal's page proofs. How?! Why?! I was irritated, to put it mildly. The chief editor said nothing definite, just shrugged his shoulders: Come on, you understand it all!--and looked significantly in the direction of the ceiling. Of course I understood, I knew who the chief editor meant, but I simply could not make any sense of it: Why had the leading comrades withdrawn the article, what criminal element had they detected in it? And, of course, I wanted them to tell me frankly about it.

I sought protection at the party obkom. I sent a letter addressed to A.S. Sinitsyn, chief of the Culture Section. No reply, no telephone call. Nothing...

That was a good five years ago. I encounter Aleksandr Sergeyevich now and again. Without any moral hesitation, he pretends that my letter to him never existed. I, in my turn, also pretend that there never was any letter. I am very ashamed of this hypocrisy: I sincerely wrote to a man who, it appears, does not even imagine that rank and file Communists might have a sense of their own dignity. At the time I was humiliated by the indifferent refusal to talk to me at all. This kind of thing is difficult to forget, right? Many of our writers could narrate depressing memories...

Be that as it may. Insults, bitterness--much has been said about all this, and justice is now being done. Even the ancient adage suggests: Look back in anger!

So here I am, looking back, but the bitterness is still with me because, having read through the central press, having breathed the air of truth since the morning, joyfully charged with energy for action, I arrive at work to learn that yet another article has been withdrawn from the proofs of yet another issue of the journal.

This happened quite recently, following the 27th CPSU Congress. The CPSU Obkom Culture Section (Chief A. Sinitsyn, instructor Yu. Pchelkin) rejected the essay "Beneath the Sky of Sukhodol." A good essay. V. Petrov, an engineer and writer from Lipetsk, spent a long time touring places in the Chernozem Zone associated with Bunin, and wrote about how badly we cherish the memory of a major Russian writer. Chief Editor Viktor Mikhaylovich Popov liked the essay very much, he even came to my office: Where did you dig up this author?! I did not dig him up, I said, it was just luck, an accident. The piece came in, I read it... In short there we were looking at each other with smiles on our faces. Two experienced literary workers who love and--I would venture to hope--know our work, two Communists of long standing, two editors, smiling at each other. Editors in all press organs will understand our joy.

The essay was scrapped at the CPSU Obkom Culture Section...

Our indignation was great, and I said so at the writers' party meeting pegged to the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum. Actually, I was wasting my breath because neither A. Sinitsyn nor Yu. Pchelkin was present at the meeting, just as they have not been present at other important party meetings. Ever since

the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, when discussions at party meetings started getting more serious and more principled, when more and more often various communist writers would get up and ask: But why?--ever since then obkom workers have stopped attending our party meetings.

I think that they are still incapable of answering direct questions, that they are still unaccustomed to explaining and justifying their guidelines before Communists not only from the Writers Union but also from other creative organizations in Voronezh, and that they give no thought to what is perhaps the most important and the most essential point: the standard of competence in the leadership of such a distinctive and delicate spiritual substance as culture in general and artistic creation in particular.

I could speak about numerous guidelines from personnel of the CPSU Obkom Culture Section which have aroused doubts concerning their knowledge or understanding of the particular problems in the literary process which engendered these, as a rule, prohibitory guidelines. I could draw up a long list of works of prose, poetry, journalism, and criticism deleted from the journal on instructions from the CPSU Obkom Culture Section workers.

For example, prose works like A. Drilingi's "Fortune's Favorite" [Baloven Sudby] and I. Yevseyenko's "Uneasy Lies the Head" [Shapka Monomakha] were canceled as slanderous. A. Drilingi's Novella exposes the corruption and cynicism of morally decadent persons in our society, while I. Yevseyenko's Novella uses the weapon of realistic satire to castigate the bureaucracy and political demagoguery of some officials of Soviet power. Both these novellas were published in Moscow and backed by the central literary and party press, including PRAVDA, even before the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum.

Whenever the subject of restructuring comes up, we writers, both Communists and nonparty people, recall the recent past, which is still very painful and very much alive, in order to interpret it, learn lessons from it, and together do the job that the party and the people expect us to do. But when we try to do this, workers at the CPSU Obkom Culture Section get very irritated; Yu. Pchelkin, instructor at the CPSU Obkom Culture Section, for example, described these recollections as demagoguery at a session of the editorial collegium of the journal PODYEM and said: Enough about the past, look to the future.

Those who nevertheless want, before marching forward, to put accurate labels on the past--this is good and this is bad--and to call things by their proper names--to call achievements achievements, mistakes mistakes, and incompetence incompetence--are called extremists, and even worse...

This simply won't do! They are trying to use heavyweight political terminology to somehow cover up their own unwillingness or inability to understand the essence of restructuring, including in the style and methods of party leadership of culture.

Party workers in the CPSU Obkom Culture Section read manuscripts and decide their fate. But why should they supplant us editors, people who have been specially appointed and trained for the job? Why deprive us of responsibility for our own work? If we make a mistake--that is why criticism exists, to

point out mistakes, to offer reasoned criticism, and to discover the causes of mistakes. And if it emerges that the cause lies in our political or aesthetic incompetence, then the legitimate question of seeking more competent editors arises. This would be only fair. After all, everyone makes mistakes. In my view, the main job of party workers is this: the selection of people, their ideological and political education, and strict party exactingness regarding assignments and regarding understanding of and specific participation in the solution of the tasks which have faced our society in all their magnitude since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and our party's 27th Congress.

Let me make another proviso. I certainly am not trying to contend that we creative workers make no mistakes in our work, or that we are already 100 percent capable of living and working under conditions of broad democracy, publicity, and responsibility in the spirit of the time. We must keep a strict watch to ensure that unprincipled cliquishness does not develop in the creative environment and that artistic demagogues--such people exist--do not attempt to sow doubt as to the need for a class approach and party-mindedness in evaluating the phenomena of the creative process. We are learning. But others must also learn the same. Learn to convince instead of issuing orders, to prove their correctness in a well reasoned way instead of hiding behind the authority of a leading organ to justify their own personal, and therefore inevitably subjective, evaluations and conclusions.

For example, why do workers from the obkom and its Culture Section not meet regularly with the editorial collegium of our journal and discuss with us the questions of life and problems which today are particularly topical and specific for our sphere, why do they not set us problems which could be usefully resolved by the energy of our writers' organization and the ardent words of artistic journalism?

This is what would set a vivid and--this is quite important--inspiring example of real party leadership. Alas, for the time being we can only dream about this.

To prohibit is easier than anything else. Prohibit--and life becomes quieter. For whom? For the official who perceives his own tranquillity as more important than the interests of the cause. Today, however, it is not personal tranquillity that should be the concern of us all. Today tranquillity in matters of restructuring smacks too much of indifference. The 27th Party Congress decisions demand of us initiative, broad thinking, and bold demolition of yesterday's stereotypes, including those applying to the style and methods of party work in the cultural sphere. Without this there will be no decisive acceleration of the processes of social development.

It is good that many, very many party workers not only understand well the tasks of today, but are also capable of trusting people, awakening their initiative, and promptly supporting innovations. This is how it must be everywhere. Unfortunately, we literary workers in Voronezh seem to have been less lucky in this respect.

Bureaucratic administration, subjective instructions instead of getting down to the essence of problems--how remote all this is from real concern for the democratization of our life, for developing the initiative of the masses, for bringing to the awareness of the masses the fact that they are the masters of this life, that they can and must be responsible for the state of affairs...

This thesis is also confirmed by other facts... Vampilov's plays have simply not been allowed to be staged in Voronezh; the movie "The Interrogation" [Dopros], which won the USSR State Prize, was shown in small auditoriums for 2-3 days, then was taken out of circulation. Only recently, already after the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, the Koltsov Academy Drama Theater was forbidden to stage A. Misharin's "Silver Wedding" [Serebryanaya Svadba].

Prose works by A. Kim and V. Krupin and articles on Nikolay Rubtsov's poetry were withdrawn from proofs of the journal PODYEM...

Much that has been prohibited in Voronezh has been printed in Moscow and other publications. We tell workers at the Obkom Culture Section: Here you are, canceling things, while Moscow is printing them. And we get the confident answer: That is Moscow. This is Voronezh! And that's it. Hold your tongue and work out what this could mean?! How much further can we go in the "administrative enthusiasm" of parochial autocrats?!...

It is truly inspiring when creative people are led by competent, intelligent, democratic, and tactful politicians and--word of honor--you get jealous when you see how such politicians purposefully affirm the true principles of democratic centralism in the leadership of contemporary theater and cinematography, when you see what rights are given to the artists themselves, the directors, actors, and scriptwriters! There is a desire to work with maximum effort, and there are things to be responsible for!

But somehow, hitherto nothing has been seen or heard regarding the rights of editorial collegiums of literary journals and their chief editors or the artistic councils of publishing houses located outside the capital. Maybe something is being done somewhere, but so far I personally, as a member of the editorial collegium of the journal PODYEM and of the artistic council of the Central Chernozem Zone Book Publishing House, have not seen anything. Excuse my black humor, but we are already hoarse from indignant exclamations at party meetings. Some people have already shut their mouths, and an expression of sagacious skepticism has returned to their eyes...

We in Voronezh have our own symbol of willful leadership of culture. It stands in the city center, on the high right bank, up on a hill, and is visible from afar. Unfortunately it is...a monument to the unforgettable Aleksey Vasilyevich Koltsov. A heavy, dark, and expressionless monument which, simply, is not Koltsov.

No one was asked, no one was listened to when this monument was being put up. I pass it every day on my way to work. It stands there heavy and firm. For the time being....

I am a romantic. My youth was in the fifties and sixties, and I believe in the victory of party truth, healthy political sense, honor, and justice. I am young again, I have waited too long for this fresh breath of air, and I believe that it will reach our parts at long last in all its strength, that a real restructuring will begin in the entire process of social life instead of being replaced by high-flown empty words.

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CULTURE

TASS VIEWS 'CONTROVERSY' OF AYTMATOV'S LATEST NOVEL

LD241848 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0718 GMT 24 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow, 24 October [TASS]--TASS Observer Boris Prokhorov writes: There is probably not a single literary work of recent years which has aroused such stormy debate amongst readers and critics in our country as the new novel by Chingiz Aitmatov, "The Block," which was published recently in the journal NOVYY MIR.

Different and frequently contradictory points of view are being voiced about the personality of the principal hero, a former pupil of a religious seminary, and about episodes based on the Gospels. The composition and language of the book also arouse controversy. Readers and critics have probably found the passages recounting the conversation between Christ and Pilate hardest to understand. In these scenes the author has put expressions and phrases into their mouths, which some regard as too contemporary. Many regard the description of a journey made by boys to obtain Anasha, a narcotic "weed," as "premature" and even journalistic. Most people regard the passages about the fate of the two shepherds as amongst the strongest in the novel. The writer uses them as an example to demonstrate graphically that evil inevitably engenders evil, while man is called upon to be an intelligent and considerate master of this great house, our planet.

There is much argument about the new book by Chingiz Aitmatov. But virtually everyone agrees that "the Block" is a notable example of Soviet literature, a contemporary and incisive novel, which reflects to a certain extent the moral quest of the present day.

The arguments about Chingiz Aitmatov's novel testify not only to the fact that one of our most important writers has written an interesting work. The clash of views about "the Block" is also a reflection of today's atmosphere, the atmosphere of openness, which has been steadily developing in the country's public life since the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress. In this atmosphere the things which writers are saying are louder, more frank and more weighty.

To be convinced of this one need only leaf through the latest issues of, for example, that self-same NOVYY MIR. In its latest, October edition the journal published a cycle of intelligent, profound and honest lyrics, called "Today," by Mikhail Dudin, one of the best-loved and most popular of the poets of the

older generation in the country. As his epigraph to the cycle the poet has chosen the Biblical quotation "Nothing is secret, that shall not be made manifest."

The cycle is opened by a poem entitled "Do Not Hurry." In it a worldly-wise poet calls on people who are making history, transforming nature and guarding the world in which mankind lives and works, to act thoughtfully, circumspectly and intelligently. Dudin's new verse is an example of that great literature which is being published more and more widely in Soviet journals.

And NOVYY MIR is not the only literary journal in the country. There is also ZNAMYA and MOLODAYA GWARDIYA, MOSKVA and NEVA, DRUZHBA NARODOV and NASH SOVREMENNIK, as well as dozens of other "fat" literary monthlies. The influence of the restructuring which the Soviet Union is now experiencing is being felt on the pages of each of them.

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CULTURE

SOVIET WEEKLY PUBLISHES NABOKOV POEMS

LD242028 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1422 GMT 24 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow, 24 October (TANJUG)--The Soviet KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE weekly published in its issue today five poems by Vladimir Nabokov (1899-1977), poet and novelist who emigrated from Russia and whose works were banned from publication in the Soviet Union for decades.

The first publication of Nabokov's poems in the Soviet Union is certainly a result of the demand made by a number of writers at last summer's congress of the USSR Union of Writers for publishing the works of authors who for various reasons were not presented to the Soviet public for years. The MOSKVA magazine will shortly publish one of Nabokov's novels, while the monthly magazine of the USSR Union of Writers NOVY MIR is to feature Nabokov's essay on Nikolay Gogol.

In his youth, Nabokov emigrated from Russia with his family. He was educated at Cambridge University, and lived in France and Germany before emigrating to the United States in 1948. "Lolita," "The Defence," "Pale Fire" and "Ada" are among his best known works, which also include his autobiography "Speak, Memory."

Despite the ban on Nabokov's works, they were nevertheless read by many Soviet writers who informally acknowledge the influence of this important prose and poetry writer.

KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE writes very highly of Nabokov's prose and poetry, describing him as a "major Russian writer whose talent was shaped abroad." Its only critical remark is that there are such works of Nabokov's which are alien to Russian literary tradition and are a direct consequence of foreign culture.

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CULTURE

BRIEFS

WORKS OF NABOKOV PRAISED--Moscow, 25 October (AFP)--A Soviet literary review has paid tribute to Vladimir Nabokov, the late Russian writer who emigrated to the United States after the 1917 revolution and became an American citizen. The latest edition of the weekly KNIJNOYE OBOZRENIYE published five of his poems and a glowing commentary describing him as "a major Russian writer whose talent asserted itself abroad." The magazine drew a parallel between Nabokov's poetic work and that of Boris Pasternak, the author of "Doctor Zhivago" which earned him the 1958 Nobel Prize for Literature but is still banned in the Soviet Union. A hundred thousand copies of a compilation of Pasternak's poems and prose were published earlier this year in the Soviet Union. Extracts from Nabokov's memoirs in Russian were published for the first time in the Soviet Union by the official SHAKHMATNOYE OBOZRENIYE review in August. KNIJNOYE OBOZRENIYE said that two more works by Nabokov, who died in 1978 and was best known for his novel "Lolita," would be published here in the near future. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 1141 GMT 25 Oct 86 AU] /12913

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SOCIAL ISSUES

MOSCOW TV PHONE-IN DISCUSSES DRUG ADDICTION IN SCHOOLS

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 25 October 1986 carries a scheduled 90-minute live phone-in entitled "Saturday is Parents' Day" on child education, presented by Ye. V. Ozrina, commentator and candidate of pedagogical science, with the participation of USSR Deputy Education Minister M.M. Budakov; candidate of juridical science M. Yu. Barshevskiy, a lawyer; Doctor of Psychological Sciences V. V. Stolin, reader in Psychology; and V.M. Mokhanov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and director of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Scientific Research Institute on Curriculum and Teaching methods.

The program opens with questions reflecting parental concern on child education, topics such as the use of calculators for mathematical homework and questions on careers guidance.

The question of drug addiction in schools is raised. The program continues as follows:

[Ozrina] Does the USSR Ministry of Education have a program to combat drug addiction in schools? From Akhmedyanov, in the town of Reutovo, Moscow Oblast.

[Budakov] Well, our viewer has posed a very sore and acute question. If you recall, a month ago in our program my colleague gave a partial answer to this question.

[Ozrina] Partially and very quickly.

[Budakov] The fact of the matter is that those harmful habits and harmful phenomena related to the penetration into the youth and adolescent environment by alcoholism, smoking and, of late, drug addiction too, merit the most intent and serious attention, and cannot be restricted only to purely, so to speak, administrative measures. Indeed, as far as bans are concerned, we have them all--in schools it is forbidden to drink and to smoke, naturally it is forbidden...

[Ozrina interrupting] The time has evidently come for some kind of serious instruction, propaganda and guidance alongside the bans.

[Budakov] We are talking about very serious educational work. We have in mind that these problems are reflected also in school courses: biology and psychology, the ethics and psychology of family life, and in other school subjects, the foundations of the Soviet state, and law, that is, the legal aspect of this issue should also be known.

[Ozrina] There is the application of the legal aspect of this issue too, Mikhail Yuriyevich, in the struggle against drug addiction.

[Barshevskiy] There is, naturally, a legal aspect. In the last program I said, as you noted straight away, that drug addiction, narcotics, and the distribution of narcotics are actions punishable in criminal law, so you're asking about how to combat this. Well, as for a program to combat drug addiction at the Ministry of Education, I don't know of any enforceable enactments on this myself and I have not heard that any kind of universal enforceable enactment or any decisive interdisciplinary aspect to this problem has been drawn up. In any case, lawyers have, so to speak, long been armed against drug addicts; it is a question of how to use the weapon, and a question of discovery.

Another problem occurs. It is this: We know that it is not good to drink but, by the way, we cannot prosecute for alcoholism. We can take away parental rights, there are many restrictions, but we cannot prosecute. The alcoholic is a sick person and has to be treated. But we can prosecute for drug addiction, and now, it is no coincidence that a series of articles is now appearing in the newspapers, specifically, mainly readers' letters, putting it this way: I would go to a drug addiction clinic, but I am frightened that they will put me away--I'm using the same kind of language. Or, a letter that I read somewhere recently, I don't recall in which paper: I have a son at school. I suspect that he is using narcotics, but I simply don't know what to do. If I were to tell anyone, then I'd be putting my son in prison with my own hands.

That's the kind of thing that's said. So, evidently, there is something here for the lawyers to ponder. I am simply not a specialist in the field, I can't say, but I think that the lawyers should be thinking how to structure the rules of law in such a way that they do not frighten people who have fallen into the net of drug addiction away from the drug addiction clinics, nor scare them with liability for using drugs, but so that there is greater liability for the distribution of drugs, for drawing people into drug addiction, not for taking drugs. That is, however, my personal view. I don't know if my colleagues and the doctors would agree with me.

[Ozrina] Of course, this is a pretty serious problem. I am thinking, for example, of how parents are to behave if they find out that children have started to use drugs. This is more a question for the psychologist. Are they to sound the alarm, where do they go, to whom do they turn, what kind of psychological help is there and what kind of psychological reasoning does a schoolchild need? Quite recently I was filming at a Moscow reception and referral center for juveniles, and I came across 16-year-old girls who had drunk formalin and inhaled lotus fumes, yet the parents were not even able to find any words or reasoning to prove to them that this is bad. You know, we are now raising the

problem of drug addiction, but we do not know how to approach it, what words to find. The lawyer says that it is not a matter for prosecution, the school is also not yet ready to adopt any kind of enforceable enactment. What about the psychologist?

[Stolin] Well, I've been listening attentively to the others taking part, and it has made me think, first, that the problem here really is not a legal one, in the sense that one can consider, for example, domestic chemical preparations to be drugs.

[Ozrina] Depending on how they are used.

[Stolin] Yes. Well, we're assuming statutes directed against, say, sniffing dishwashing detergent, aren't we? Would it be possible to create this kind of statute? It wouldn't, would it? It would be even less possible to punish this. So, the problem is more and more a psycho-pedagogical one. We have to understand what is happening with these children, why they, so to speak, what they get out of it, so a psychologist has to consider this kind of situation. It is not simply a coincidence, it is that an adolescent gets some kind of, how shall we say, psychological benefit out of getting into a state caused by one means or another, not necessarily something classed as a narcotic, and that this state makes some other processes easier, perhaps, for example, communication, contacts, feelings of confidence and so on.

Having tried this easy route, then the psychological problem becomes more difficult, and it is easier for him to achieve these optimum, in that sense, easy and pleasant states by this means than by traditional means, which we welcome. So here is the essence of the problem: We have to catch the very first attempt, this abnormal route that affects the health and harms the development of the personality, we have to be able to notice this very first attempt in time. Here we come back to the question of a psychological service in schools. Perhaps the introduction of this kind of service would be very effective precisely at the early warning stages of some kind of involvement in drugs, thus by intervening and working individually with the child we could help with whatever he is trying to resolve by narcotic means.

[Barshevskiy] I would like to add here--in fact, I wasn't quite ready, so I couldn't answer straight away. There are four articles in the criminal code relating to drug addiction, and they sound very severe. The manufacture, acquisition, storage, transport, or marketing of narcotic substances is illegal. That's virtually everything that can be done with them. Next article: the theft of narcotic substances. The next: incitement to use narcotic substances, and sowing and cultivating of crops banned from cultivation containing narcotic substances. So, as you can see, there is a very broad series of legal measures. But I would like to agree with Vadim Viktorovich's view, that nevertheless, evidently the main way of combating drug addiction, precisely as applied to schools, should now not be strict legislation, but propaganda, explanation. These articles that are now appearing in the papers are very useful in this connection. So perhaps a psychological service in schools might be effective, perhaps the Ministry of Education will issue teachers with directions for instructive purposes to give explanations to, say, the fifth,

sixth, seventh and eighth grades--these are, evidently, the most dangerous grades. I think that this would be the most effective way.

Concluding the program, Ozrina says: "Thank you. Well, just as last time, in finishing off our broadcast, I would like to sum up a bit. Over the hour and a half 536 people have telephoned us, from 39 towns and villages of the Soviet Union. But we must admit that questions of upbringing and education interest women most of all. And answering them, as you can see, we mainly have men."

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